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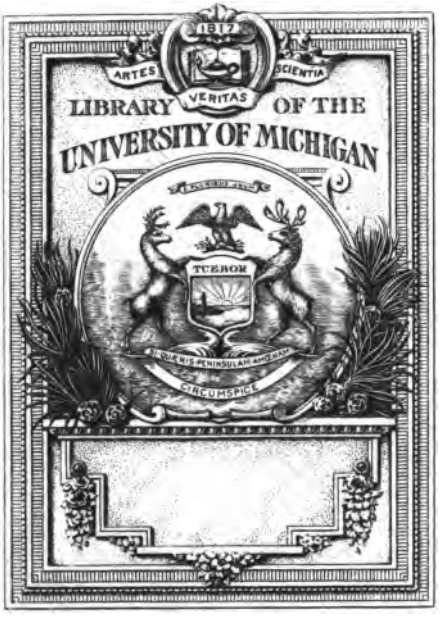

BEQUEST OF
ABBY L. SARGENT

Mary Anne Havelock
from her Daughters
Oct 1st 1840

NARRATIVE

OF THE

WAR IN AFFGHANISTAN.

IN 1838—39.

By CAPTAIN HENRY HAVELOCK.

13TH REGIMENT (LIGHT INFANTRY),
AIDE-DE-CAMP TO MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLOUGHBY COTTON,
G.C.B. AND K.C.H.,
COMMANDING THE BENGAL FORCES IN AFFGHANISTAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR WILLOUGHBY COTTON,

G.C.B. AND K.C.H.

I DEDICATE THIS HASTY NARRATIVE

IN TOKEN OF MY GRATEFUL RECOLLECTION OF

HIS NUMEROUS ACTS OF PERSEVERING KINDNESS TO ME

SINCE THE YEAR 1825, IN WHICH I HAD FIRST

THE HONOUR OF SERVING IN THE SAME ARMY WITH HIM.

H. HAVELOCK.

Camp Cabul,

14th October, 1839.

INTRODUCTION.

I SUBMIT this hurried sketch of events to the indulgence of the public, under the persuasion that it will be more acceptable, if now despatched to England, in its present state, than it would be three months later, after the most careful revision, and the addition of such information as I might, in the interval, be enabled to collect. I desire in this matter to profit by experience. When, thirteen years ago, I traced the history of a portion of the operations in Ava, I had the mortification to discover that, during the six months which had elapsed, whilst I was employed in carrying the work through the press, burdened as I was at the

time with other avocations, a complete revolution had taken place in the minds of men touching the subject of my narrative. All interest in the events recorded therein had died away; and, as three other histories had been given to the world in the mean time, my recital, though developing some new facts, and some views of affairs very different from those of the writers who had got the start of me, was regarded with the marked apathy of a wearied auditory, excepting within a narrow circle in India. I have therefore, preferred giving publicity on this occasion, without delay, to the contents of a personal journal, to losing the valuable time which would have been consumed in putting my materials into the more regular form of an historic memoir.

The hope of framing some acceptable memorial of our exertions in Affghanistan, was formed at the time of my appointment to the divisional staff of the Army of the Indus; but was dashed, at first, with fears springing from a recollection of past discouragements. My former effort as an author had not met

with that species of reward, which is commonly looked for at the present day. No enterprising publisher had taken under his auspices my "Memoir of the Three Campaigns." It had been printed in a distant land, and thus placed beyond the reach of the praise or blame of the constituted critics of Britain; and, in consequence of the short memories of a large proportion of my subscribers, the proceeds of the publication had scarcely defrayed the cost of giving it to a limited number of readers. Yet a counterpoise to these mortifications was not wanting. A few officers of rank, whose discernment and candour I could not doubt, even in my own cause, had characterized the performance as honest and faithful; three commanders-in-chief in India had spoken favourably of it to others, as well as to myself; and I have been deceived if, when war was likely to be renewed in the Burman Empire, and information regarding it had again become valuable, a fourth general placed in the same situation of responsible control above adverted to, did not find, or profess to find, in the pages of the neglected lieutenant, develop-

ments of fact and reasoning, which he had in vain sought in books on the same topic, that had enjoyed the sunshine of a far more brilliant popularity.

Doubting, nevertheless, and balancing, as Alfieri phrases it, *fra il si, ed il no,* I reached Ferozepore. Here it was that a civil functionary distinguished for talent, addressing an officer of rank, assured him that our projected advance into Affghanistan, would be no more than a *promenade militaire.* The expression excited much attention at the time, and many were a little angry at the prognostication. Perhaps it aided me in coming to a conclusion as to my intended authorship. I knew that we were to traverse countries, the natural features, government, and moral condition of which might form in themselves an interesting subject for literary exertion, even after the reception by the world of the memoirs, and books of travels of Jonas Hanway, Chardin, Christie, Pottinger, Elphinstone, Burnes, Connolly, and Boileau. But, to the honours of a graphic tourist I was determined not to

aspire. If we were only to play the part of well-escorted travellers, I resolved to be silent; but if, in opening the Indus in fact, as had hitherto been done in treaties and protocols merely,—if, in placing our relations with Sinde upon a stable and satisfactory basis, in substituting a friendly for an ill-affected and treacherous power in Affghanistan, and raising up beyond the line of the Helmund a barrier against the aggressions of Persia, we should encounter armed resistance, I was ready once more to take up the pen to record the exertions of my fellow soldiers, their character, and consequences.

The reader must pronounce whether, in the spirited affair at Ghuznee, there was a sufficient ground of martial achievement for my final determination again to come before the public as an author. In whatever way he may decide, I at least felt that I had not materials, even after that brief exploit, for a grave military memoir; but having, from the commencement of our march into Lower Sinde,

begun to keep a hasty record of our daily movements accompanied by some notice of the countries through which the army was passing, I came afterwards to the resolution of working it up into a narrative form, instead of using it, as I had originally purposed, merely as an aid in completing a work of a more elaborate stamp. "War," said the poet, more than fifty years ago,

> "War is a game which, were their subjects wise,
> "Kings would not play at."

The time seems slowly to have come round in Europe when both rulers and people are, in some measure, disposed to profit by this hint. Neither monarchs nor their subjects are, I think, prepared to rush, with the same headlong haste which characterized former periods, into the evils and horrors of belligerency. They appear at least willing now, as of yore they often were not, to hear before they strike. But the sarcasm and the counsel scarcely extend to British India; for, in the first place, there the governed have no voice or opinion at all in the

matter, and next, though much shrewd logic has been employed, and much lofty eloquence lavished to prove the reverse, the real fact appears to me to be that the succession of rulers of India, from Warren Hastings to Lord Auckland, have generally, if not universally, been dragged with unfeigned reluctance into the wars in which they have been engaged, and that the principle of nearly all of those contests has on the part of the British been that of pure and unwilling self-defence. The hostile efforts which are to be reviewed in the following pages form, in my opinion, a strong example of this rule, instead of an exception to it. When Russia has been portrayed as the ambitious aggressor, the Shah of Persia and the Barukzye chiefs as willing dupes and tools, and British India as exerting her own energies and seeking the alliance of her neighbours, solely with the view of erecting a barrier against meditated encroachment, the historic picture appears to me to be at once faithful and complete; and, though the armies of Bengal and Bombay were put in motion in 1838, for the purpose of passing the

frontier lines of other states, the objects of their operations, the more they are examined, will the more clearly be proved to have been essentially defensive. It is far pleasanter to feel assured of this, when sitting down to write the narrative of a portion of those acts, than it would have been to describe more brilliant deeds, if the policy in which they originated had been iniquitous, or questionable.

Here, then, after the lapse of thirteen years spent in the discharge of the lowly duties of my profession, I propose to appear once more before the world as an author, and though this second essay makes its appearance in form of humbler pretension than my first, still it will be classed under the head of military history, "*duro impegno,*" as the poet whom I have already quoted, rightly said of the composition of tragedy; an engagement which involves much of labour and peril, if, in completing the task, regard be had to sustaining the fourfold character, which none thus employed can venture with impunity to compromise, of soldier, scholar, gentleman,

and Christian. As a soldier, it will be demanded of every such narrator of events, that he should show himself not unacquainted with the great principles of the military art, although his own avocations may generally have confined him to the study and practice of its bare elements. His style will not escape criticism, though he should plead that the hours which he would willingly have devoted to the labours and pleasures of varied literature, have been absorbed by the dry duties of the barrack, the camp, or the field; and it is necessary that he should be able to show that in recording or judging he has never been unmindful of the requirements of courtesy, never wilfully departed from strict and impartial truth, to serve any purpose whatever, and has ever set the same value on the reputation of others, which he might rightfully expect men to put upon his own. In a work of this kind, too, a writer is called to sit in judgment upon his superiors. Will they, in my case, think it reasonable and fair to recognise the distinction between the inferior officer, who as such has for twenty-five

years piqued himself upon a literal and strict obedience to every command of his seniors, and the public chronicler of events, who in the exercise of functions and prerogatives of his honourable and useful office,

> ("Oh! that my mind were equal to fulfil
> The comprehensive mandate that it gives.")*

has a right to cite the lofty and the low alike before his tribunal, put them on their trial, hear evidence, absolve, or condemn; so that all be done in moderation, with equity, and impartiality?

Thus much for possible offence to public dignities; and next, where so many have in the like case failed, how can I hope to steer quite clear of the rock of injury to private feelings? I fear the case is hopeless; yet I am confident that I have stated nothing throughout the work as from my own knowledge, of which I cannot produce proof; and in instances in which I have been guided by the reports of others, they have invariably been those of honourable men,

* Wordsworth.

competent witnesses in the cases in which I have availed myself of their testimony. I have only further on this topic to invite the candid examination of my work by those who were actors in the scenes which it describes, and are best qualified to corroborate or refute its statements. To them I appeal, and, wherever any shall detect me in error, especially in such as might be hurtful to others, I have only to request that the nature of my misapprehension (of wilful slander I will not suspect myself) may be pointed out to me candidly and courteously, when I shall be found far more ready to accord, than any to demand, from me the only rational reparation which any man can in such cases seek or offer, viz., the public declaration of the truth, as far as it can after the most diligent inquiry be ascertained. For this species of correction I shall be thankful to any of my companions in arms, or to others; and, if the representations thus made should rightfully require the confession of error on my part, I shall ever esteem such sincere and willing recantation my glory, and not my shame. So much for my facts; of the few

opinions advanced in the work, it becomes me to speak with diffidence. I have striven in forming them to be candid, impartial, and charitable.

It remains for me to acknowledge my obligations to others in the preparation of this little work for the press. First of all, my thanks are due to my kind patron, Sir Willoughby Cotton, to whom this performance is dedicated. His flattering selection of me to serve on his personal staff, from the commencement of hostilities, opened out to me sources of information to which, in the ranks of my regiment, I could have had no access. Next, I must not fail to record my gratitude to His Excellency Lieutenant-general Sir John Keane (now Baron Keane, of Ghuznee), commander-in-chief of the army of the Indus. As soon as my intention of recording in print the acts and endurances of the force was made known to him at Cabool, he encouraged me, without any solicitation on my part, to apply to himself personally for any information I might require, and intimated to the heads of departments his wish that all docu-

ments should unreservedly be placed within my reach. By this handsome permission, I have greatly profited.

To the talent of my brother officer, Brevet-major Kershaw, I owe the execution of the landscapes and plans.* My acknowledgments are also cordially tendered to Major Craigie, deputy adjutant-general, Major Garden, deputy quartermaster-general, Lieutenant Becher, deputy assistant quartermaster-general, Major Thomson, chief engineer of the Bengal force, and to Major Campbell, deputy quartermaster-general of the Bombay contingent,† for the contents of official documents, and of plans and sketches willingly communicated under the kind and distinguished sanction above adverted to. I am further indebted to my excellent friend, Lieutenant Barr, of the Bengal horse

* The landscapes and plans here alluded to had not reached England at the time of our going to press, and the publication of the work was considered of too important a nature to admit of delay. It is probable that they may be published hereafter, and supplied in a cheap form to the purchasers of the work.

† Major Keith, deputy adjutant-general of the same force, to whom I was under similar obligations, died, deservedly regretted, on the march from Cabool to Kelat.

artillery, for the views of the pass of Alee Musjid and of Peshawur, from the eastward. Though I myself prefer to all others the orthographical system of my respected preceptor in the oriental languages, Doctor Gilchrist, I have, in this narrative, adopted the mode of spelling Asiastic names which appeared likely to be most familiar to the greatest number of readers.

The course of events having detained me, contrary to my expectation and wish, in India, I felt assured that innumerable topographical errors would be found in the work, if printed from my manuscript, without the opportunity of personal correction of the press. I accordingly adopted the suggestion of my friend and connexion, Mr. Marshman, of Serampore, and the whole, with his assistance, was set up in type in the months of April and May, 1840, and the proof-sheets transmitted overland to England. I have much pleasure in stating that I have also to thank him for many valuable hints of a literary nature during the completion of this labour.

I have particularly to solicit public indulgence

on the score of the haste of which I fear marks are but too evident in my last chapter. The claims of professional duty necessarily abridged my stay in the lower provinces of Bengal, and though, after leaving Peshawar, I had continued to commit to paper every "note-worthy object," during my progress to the Attok, and through the Punjab, I was compelled to omit all this additional matter, or to run the risk of delaying, indefinitely, the appearance of the work. To the same cause is to be attributed the abrupt form of the latter part of my narrative. I feel confident that I should be enabled to remedy these, and many other defects, if encouraged to print a second edition.

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NARRATIVE

OF THE

WAR IN AFFGHANISTAN.

CHAPTER I.

Connexion of the author with the force—He is appointed aide-de-camp to Sir Willoughby Cotton—Causes of the war, and preparations for it—Defensive and cautious policy of Lord William Bentinck—Colonel Passmore appointed instructor in tactics to the Persians—Crisis of the attempt of the Persians against Herat—Counteracting measures of Lord Auckland—Declaration of the British government in India—Contingent of Shah Shoojah—Bengal force—Bombay contingent—Concentration of the armament—Plan of the campaign—Route—March from the Jumna to the Sutlege—Intelligence of the raising of the siege of Herat and its consequences—Observations.

I WAS serving at Kurnal as adjutant of my regiment, when it became publicly known that an army was to be assembled for the avowed purpose of restoring Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk

to the throne of his ancestors. The 13th had suffered severely during the months of July, August, and September, 1838, first from cholera morbus, and then from fevers of various types chiefly remittent and intermittent, and the actual strength had been brought so low by the painfully frequent recurrence of casualties, and by copious invaliding, and the general health of the remaining soldiers was so much impaired, that it was for some time doubted whether it would be possible that the corps should form a part of the force about to be employed beyond the Indus. These fears, however, were dissipated on a change for the better taking place in the weather towards the latter end of September.

The regiment equipped itself for service in the field, and Colonel Sale, its senior lieutenant-colonel, was warned to prepare to assume the command of a brigade, and invited to give an opinion regarding the selection of his brigade-major. His choice fell upon myself, and as I had served two years on the general staff of the army in Ava, and was just at this conjuncture promoted, after twenty-three years' probation in the inferior grades, to the rank of captain, which obviated all difficulty on that score, I did not anticipate any objection to the

nomination. It was soon, however, announced to me that Sir Henry Fane had selected a senior officer in my corps for the appointment of brigade-major of the 1st brigade, and I had thus every prospect of my exertions being confined to the command of a company of light infantry during the expected operations; when the arrival of Sir Willoughby Cotton at Kurnal, to put himself at the head of his division, changed, as far as my views were concerned, the aspect of affairs.

In the war in Ava, Brigadier-general Cotton had commanded the troops from Madras, and I had been attached to those from the supreme presidency; but I had become personally known to him in Burma, and we had often met, whilst engaged in various duties before the enemy. It is a pleasure to me record that I afterwards owed to his favourable representations my appointment by Lord Combermere to a staff situation in Bengal, which I held three years and a half. It was after an interval of nine years that I now again met Sir Willoughby Cotton at Kurnal, on the occasion of the assembly at that station of the several corps about to be placed under his orders; when all the officers of his departmental staff having already been appointed by superior authority, he applied on the ground of the strength of his

division (nine regiments) for the assistance of a second aide-de-camp; and his request being acceded to, submitted my name to the commander-in-chief. He offered me at the same time the temporary employment of postmaster during the advance of his three brigades from the Jumna to Ferozepore, which I accepted. Postmaster of division, therefore, *de facto*, and recommended to be aide-de-camp to its general, I prepared to move from Kurnal. Thus much having been premised, my narrative will look back to events anterior in point of date, and of more general interest.

The question to be decided by the army of the Indus was simply this: "Who is henceforth to exercise a predominating influence over those countries which were united after the death of Nadir Shah up to 1809 under the dominion of Ahmed Shah Abdallee, and his successors, latterly under the name of the kingdom of Cabul,—England, or Russia?" It is labour lost to go about to prove this, it is silly affectation to attempt to deny it. Since the termination of the campaign which gave to Russia by right of conquest Erivan and Nakhetchevan, and an extended frontier at the expense of Persia, the politics of the latter state have received a bent and bias from those

of the court of St. Petersburg, which have been a loud and perpetual call to Great Britain to look to the integrity of her Indian possessions.

The administration of Lord William Bentinck was essentially pacific. The great and professed object of it was such a revision of the expenditure of the country, which he ruled, as would serve to recruit the finances of the state, which had been all but ruined by the expenses of the Burman war. His attention was also much taken up with liberal and enlightened plans for the education of the natives of Hindoostan, and the elevation of their moral character, and with imparting to them by degrees such a share in the government of their own land, as this amelioration might render them fit to take upon themselves. But he certainly had not amidst these, and other great undertakings entirely lost sight of the danger, which threatened our tenure of India from the encroaching spirit of a vast autocracy, which was devising how its influence might be made silently to advance up to the very threshold of the north-western gates of the magnificent edifice of the British dominion. He did much in the way which he deemed circumstances to demand, with the view of creating a counterpoise in that quarter. He

strengthened the bonds of our amity with the ruler of the Punjab; and it was under his auspices that Burnes, the most enterprising and successful traveller of his day, explored the several branches of the Indus, and of some of the rivers of the Punjab from the sea to Lahore; and then carried research to the capital of the ruler, whose authority had been established on a portion of the fragments of the power of the Suddozye family, and onwards again into cities, and regions beyond the limit of Hindoo Koosh, and into the heart of Persia. The routes were thus explored, by which our subtle, and gigantic foe might penetrate, and our means of defence both in the way of precautionary alliance, and offensive anticipation, were brought within the scope of the consideration of future statesmen and rulers. Nor was this all; but by virtue of a succession of treaties signed and ratified without noise or pretension, the waters of the noble Sinde from Curachee to Attock received a mandate to carry upwards for distribution amongst the people of Central Asia the products of European industry and skill.

I cannot speak with equal applause of Colonel Passmore's mission. I see not what could have been reasonably hoped from a measure neither purely military, nor avowedly diplomatic. Here

were officers with our troops or treasure, an offer of instruction without influence to secure its acceptance, or power to resent its neglect, and just so much devised in a vague manner as might serve to constitute a languid answer to any accusation of having literally attempted nothing. Whilst at an interesting period of Persian politics the agents of Russia were dexterously, and perseveringly watching the course of events, and turning to their own account successive revolutions in the state, we see Passmore and his associates scarcely tolerated by the court, and without even the shadow of authority with the army, compelled acutely to feel that their talents and acquirements were neutralized by the error of their position. The mission produced no result worthy of record; and the members of this little committee of foreign instruction disappeared one after the other from the scene. Some became incorporated with that diplomatic body, which the English, not the Indian government, had at length felt it to be wise on their part timeously to establish at Tehran, and others returned to a sphere of more hopeful labour in Hindoostan; so that when the circumstances of the siege of Herat had to be communicated to the governor-general, in 1838, Major D'Arcy Todd alone, of

all those who had landed at Busheer in 1833, was found available on the spot to convey the tidings to Simla.

The beleaguering of Herat by the armies of Persia is not to be regarded as any new feature in the policy of that state. The complexion of its counsels and acts had for ten years before been uniformly the same. The tools of Russian artifice and ambition, its ministers, had never during that period spoken sincerely, but when they openly declared hostility to the British Empire in India. In the attack on the hereditary possessions of Shah Kamran, the portion which he had saved out of the conflagration, when the empire of his father and uncles were reduced to ashes, we within the Indus saw not the symptoms of any new disease; but only rejoiced that the morbid matter testified its existence in a manner which rendered the nature of the remedies required less doubtful than before. Matters had reached a crisis. The character and object of the views and combinations of Russia herself could no longer be questioned by the most imbecile, the most interested, or the most sceptical amongst us; they were fully unmasked. Not to mention the intrigues, of which Cabul and Candahar were at this very moment the scene, an en-

deavour had now openly been made to establish for Persia, that is, by the juggling processes of Sclavonic transmutation, for the Czar himself, a place of arms within one hundred marches of the Indus at Attock.

The intermediate space was nearly all in the hands of the Barukzye chiefs, who had successively admitted a Muscovite agent (credulity itself scouts the pretext of his mission being purely commercial) into diplomatic intimacy at their courts, and to one of them Herat had been formerly assigned as his share of the plunder; whilst another demanded from our ally the *restitution* of Peshawur, which had in fact never been in his possession, and was rapt like another Muhmood, Timour, or Nadir, in golden reveries of conquest beyond the Indus, nay, even on the left bank of the Sutlege; and at this very time *an intercepted despatch had disclosed the fact that the Ameers of Sinde had gone the extreme length of beckoning the Persians into their states, and soliciting their aid in freeing them from the hated influence of the Feringees.* No time was to be lost; for though the energy, decision, and skill of Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger had under Providence saved the city of Herat for the moment, who could foresee what force might be brought up, openly at

length, by our powerful and ambitious rival to accomplish the conquest of the whole state; and thus lay bare at once to her invading efforts our entire frontier from the Run of Cutch to the Himalaya? That, which Persian troops paid, disciplined, and counselled by Russian officers, and out of the Muscovite treasury, had failed to effect, might yet by the battalions and squadrons of the autocrat himself, led perhaps by the conqueror of Erivan, have been consummated with a terrible celerity. Such was the formidable evil, which presented itself to view in August, 1838.

The remedy proposed by the Governor-general of India was not, as some might have advised, to assume the line of the Indus in a defensive manner, and await on its left bank the further development of the projects of our secret and declared enemies; but boldly to pass that boundary, and achieve at once a total change in the aspect of affairs beyond it, by dethroning the Barukzye rulers, and reinstating in the possession of a part of the dominions of his father, and his grandfather that Shooja-ool-Moolk, with whom Elphinstone had journeyed to Peshawur to treat, when the genius of Napoleon had thirty years before taught us to tremble in the expectation of another form

of aggressive violence. The day of calamity of this prince had then commenced; for since that period he had lingered in exile, eating the idle bread of dependence, or in his bolder and more active mood wearying himself in fruitless intrigues and efforts to recover his lost empire, evincing amidst a series of repulses and disappointments all the perseverance of a de Medici, a Stuart, or a Bourbon.

Lord Auckland had resolved on war for the re-establishment in his authority of this banished monarch, and previously to drawing the sword he made public profession of his intentions in a document, in which though Russia was never named, she was to be found, paragraph after paragraph, delineated as the covert aggressor, and, if not herself, by means of others investing and besieging Herat, insulting and irritating Dr. McNeil, spurring on to audacity, wild pretension, and mischief, Ameer Dost Moohummud of Cabul, bribing Kohun Dil Khan of Candahar, and it might have been added inflaming the jealous suspicions of the rulers of Sinde. In the midst of these acts and thoughts of offence and defection it was announced that one ally had been found firm, faithful, and consistent, viz., the Maharaja Runjeet Singh, ruler of the Punjab; that when,

therefore, the choice of the British government had rested on Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk as a fitting pinnacle for the structure which, in the form of the restored kingdom of Cabul, was to oppose resistance to the external pressure, with this monarch *de jure*, as he was now assumed to be, and with the Lord *de facto* of the Punjab, Mooltan, Cashmere, and their various dependencies and adjuncts a triplicate treaty had been signed; by which the contracting parties were bound to co-operate in the great measure of security of giving Cabul a monarch of the stock of Ahmed Shah, and the friends of Britain in Asia a new member of their confraternity.

In this paper, the publication of which may be considered as the starting-post of the race of restoration, a determination was evinced to give to future events, so far as they could be controlled, the character not of an hostile invasion, but of the firm and solemn resumption of outraged rights too long left in injurious abeyance, and it was declared that the grandson of the Dooranee conqueror, would cross the Indus, and enter into the repossession of his patrimonial provinces, surrounded by his own troops, and upheld only by the British army. To watch the progress of these changes, and con-

duct the vessel of this great Asiatic revolution into the desired haven, men, for whose prudence and ability their past services and long experience were the acknowledged guarantee, now received plenary authority to represent the British power near the person of the royal candidate for regained dominion, and in the durbars of such of the established powers, as it was proposed to reckon as allies.

Mr. William Hay Macnaghten, principal secretary to government, with the governor-general, received the designation of Envoy and Minister at the court of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk and Lieutenant-colonel Sir Alexander Burnes, known and appreciated as the topographer of the Indus, and the first, who explored with the feelings of a genuine traveller, the regions beyond the Indian Caucasus, was nominated (subsequent events have rendered it impossible to record this without an emotion of disgust, mingled with a hope of righteous retribution*) Envoy to Kelat, the capital of Mihrab Khan, the titular chieftian of Beloochistan, whilst the resolution and patriotism of Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, the defender of Herat, was rewarded by the delegation to him of diplomatic powers

* Written before the fall of Kelat.

at the court of Shah Kamran. The integrity of his actual possessions (albeit including some of the fairest portions of the Dooranee realm), was secured to Runjeet Singh; and though the stately air of the manifesto indicated the mental calm of a great power rising to the accomplishment of an act of equitable restitution, rather than the awakened energy of an athlete preparing to enter the arena, and overbear and disarm by force and skill all resistance, however vigorous, hints were not wanting of a formidable army in preparation to fulfil to the uttermost the magnificent promises held forth of resumed empire, and consolidated peace.

These were no empty allusions. Orders had been given to raise in the provinces of Hindoostan, at the primary cost of the British government, a levy to serve under the colours of Shah Shooja, consisting of a troop of native horse artillery, two regiments of cavalry, and five of infantry. A commandant and adjutant had been selected for each of these corps from amongst the officers of the Bengal army. The recruiting was at first slow, but when the objects contemplated in the measure had come to be fully understood by the classes, from amongst which Indian soldiers are raised, and increased facilities had been given by lowering

the standard of qualification to meet the exigences of the service, the ranks of the force filled rapidly. As fast as its young soldiers were collected at Bareilly, at Delhi, and at Kurnal, they were marched towards Loodiana, and initiated into the mysteries of their new vocation. Major-general Simpson, colonel of the 19th regiment native infantry, was nominated to the command of this contingent, a staff and commissariat appointed, and organized, and a military chest established and replenished. This was the armament proper of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk.

The British force, to which, as to the army of an ally the manifesto had assigned the pleasing task of "supporting the monarch in his regained dominions against foreign interference, and factious opposition" was to be composed of two quotas, the one from the Bengal, the other from the Bombay Presidency. Sir Henry Fane was, at the request of the governor-general, to command in chief both of these. With the former this narrative professes throughout to be more particularly connected, and with it the enumeration of the whole will commence. Brigadier Graham, an officer distinguished in the war in Ava, was placed at the head of the Artillery. It consisted of two troops of horse

(British), and three companies of foot, one of which (native), was to man and serve the newly-equipped No. 6, or camel light field battery, which had been brought into a state of acknowledged efficiency by the exertions and ingenuity of Major Pew. Brigadier Arnold was to command the Bengal cavalry brigade, formed of the 16th lancers, and 2nd and 3rd light cavalry, whilst the charge of the troops of that arm from both Presidencies, as soon as they should be united, was to be confided to Major-general Thackwell, Lieutenant-colonel of H. M.'s 3rd light dragoons. To Major-generals Sir Willoughby Cotton, and Duncan was given the command of the 1st and 2nd divisions of infantry, the one consisting of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, and the other of the 4th and 5th brigades.

The brigades again were so partitioned that in the 1st, Brigadier Sale found under his orders H. M.'s 13th light infantry and 16th and 48th regiments of native infantry, Major-general Nott in the 2nd, the 31st, 42nd, and 43rd regiments native infantry, and Brigadier Dennis in the 3rd, the Buffs, the 2nd, and 27th regiments of native infantry. The 4th brigade was consigned to Brigadier Roberts, the 5th to Brigadier Worsley. The corps composing these respectively were the Bengal European regiment, the

35th and 37th regiments native infantry, and the 5th, 28th, and 53rd regiments native infantry. An engineer department under Captain George Thomson as chief, was well officered, furnished with an ample *matériel*, and aided by two companies of sappers and miners, native soldiers with European non-commissioned officers, trained like the officers under Colonel Pasley. A siege train of four 18-pounder guns, two 8-inch, and two 5½-inch mortars, with two spare howitzers, the one a 24, the other a 12 pounder, completed the equipment of this very respectable force.

The general staff was constructed on the principle of leaving the heads of departments of the army of the supreme presidency, both Queen's and Company's, with the provincial commander-in-chief, whose head-quarters were to be at Meerut, a point not too distant from the Sutlege, or from Simla, the temporary seat of government, and of taking into the field the deputies; and in the selection of officers to be employed at the head-quarters of the campaigning force, as well as in appointing them to divisions and brigades; care had been taken to give staff occupation to as many as possible of those who belonged to the regiments of the armament, and were at the same time eligible

for such situations. An order had been sent to all detached officers of the regiments warned for the service in every part of India to join these corps; but wherever it was practicable, those who where thus withdrawn from their ordinary spheres of utility, were put into the army of the Indus, or employed in it in some way, which would give the best scope to their presumed merits and experience.

The Bombay force does not, strictly speaking, belong to this narration. But here it may be convenient to mention that to the commander-in-chief at that Presidency, Lieutenant-general Sir John Keane, it was proposed to give the command in the field of its contingent or quota of the army of the Indus. Bombay furnished for the war two troops of horse, and two companies of fort artillery, and a brigade of cavalry, consisting of two squadrons of H. M.'s 4th light dragoons, and the 1st light cavalry of that establishment. The infantry were H. M.'s 2nd (or Queen's), and 17th foot, together with the 1st (or grenadier), the 5th, 19th, and 23rd regiments of native infantry. The contingent likewise brought into the field an engineer department, and detachment of sappers and miners, and a siege train consisting of two 18-pounder and four 9-pounder guns. Brigadier Stevenson

commanded the artillery; Brigadier Scott, 2nd Lieutenant-colonel of the 4th light dragoons, the cavalry brigade; and Major-general Wiltshire, 1st Lieutenant-colonel 2nd (or Queen's,) the infantry, having under him Brigadier Gordon; and also at a later period Brigadier Baumgardt, 2nd Lieutenant-colonel of the Queen's. The Poona auxiliary horse constituted the irregular cavalry of this contingent. The Bengal force about to be assembled might be estimated at ten thousand, that from Bombay at six thousand men.

Fixing now our attention exclusively on the upper provinces of the Agra government, the period is seen to approach when military operations could with reference to climate be safely commenced. The selection of the native regiments was the result of the personal observation of Sir Henry Fane during his tours of inspection. Each of the corps therefore, which was thus nominated, might justly regard its incorporation with the army of the Indus as a distinction earned by its own superior discipline. But several of them had to be brought up from distant points. The mandate to prepare for active service found indeed the 53rd at Meerut, the 27th and 35th at Kurnaul, the 16th and 48th at Delhi, and the 42nd at Bareilly; but the

37th were at Agra, the 28th at Mynpoorie, the 2nd and 43rd as distant as Lucknow, and Cawnpore, and the 31st had to be pushed up from Allahabad, and the 5th from Benares. Painful marches at a most inclement season of late rain, and along flooded roads, had to be performed by some of these chosen battalions before they could reach Kurnal "the trysting place" of the mass of the artillery and infantry. Major-general Duncan was commanding on the spot, but Sir Willoughby Cotton having been stationed at Barrackpore, the head-quarters of the presidency division, had to traverse the plains of Bengal, then waist deep in water, before he could reach Meerut in the second, and the point at which his division was to assemble, in the third week of October.

At this period of preparation a feeling of the most unlimited confidence in the energy and foresight of Sir Henry Fane pervaded the minds of men of all ranks in the congregating army. It was apparent to all that so far as the arrangements had been confided to him, every thing had been well weighed, judiciously combined, and promptly and decisively carried forth into action. The very clearness of the diction, in which his orders were conveyed to the force, assured it, that there could be in the writer no

confusion of ideas, no hesitation or infirmity of purpose. The troops and their officers alike understood that their safety and honour were in the hands of a commander, who was worthy of the deposit, and addressed themselves with alacrity to carry into effect instructions, which they were convinced would be based on as jealous a regard for their own comfort and welfare, as might be consistent with the wise, bold, and uncompromising fulfilment of an important public duty.

But the clearest perceptions are occasionally clouded, the longest experience and most matured reflection, will not always exempt from error. Shall I be permitted without offence to record my participation in the doubts, which at this time the generals of division, the brigadiers and superior officers of the staff, united in entertaining of the expediency of one measure regarding the equipment of the troops of this force, which very materially affected the health and physical exertions of the soldier? One of the first duties which a recruit in Europe has to learn, is to carry the knapsack, which contains articles of the greatest value to him, his linen, and the small equipments, on which depend his personal comfort and cleanliness. These he must transport on his own

shoulders, for the plain and unanswerable reason, that excepting in the case of sickness, they never can be conveyed for him. Constant practice therefore is necessary to accustom him to the weight of this burden, and consequently parades in heavy and in light marching order are amongst the most important of the regulated exercises of the infantry belligerent. We have the authority of Napoleon for believing that the musketeer ought never in Europe to be separated from his ammunition, his spare flints, and his knapsack.

But the case is far different under the burning sun of Southern Asia. There, practice has proved it to be sound policy to reduce the personal incumbrances of the fighting man to the *minimum*, which the exigences of actual service will permit; and therefore as means of transport are usually procurable in India not only for the tents of the troops, but for their bedding, consisting of one or more cotton quilts for each soldier, the knapsacks and their contents also had in other armies generally been carried on camels or bullocks, the expense of the hire or purchase of these animals being cheerfully paid by the troops themselves, the camp equipage alone being conveyed at the cost of the government. But in the army of the Indus this rule

was departed from, and the foot soldier directed to load himself instead of his camel with his knapsack, and a proportion of his equipments, or necessaries, as they are technically called. The European thus took the field carrying his firelock, ten pounds in weight, and his accoutrements with bayonet and sixty rounds of ammunition, thirteen pounds more. It was a question worthy of the fullest consideration whether it was adviseable to load him with yet other thirteen pounds, in order to secure him the doubtful advantage of the constant possession about his person of his watch-coat, a pair of trousers, a shirt, a pair of boots, and of socks, in fact a change of clothing, and his great coat, the latter being the only article, with which he could not conveniently have dispensed. That might have been slung in the manner, which our most recent regulations recognise under the name of "Guard mounting order." The rest he would willingly, and might advantageously have consigned to the back of his baggage animal. It is not to be denied that at this period difficulties were experienced in procuring carriage for the troops; but these might have been surmounted by perseverance and contrivance; and it seemed advisable to use every exertion, and make some sacrifice

rather than to overweight the infantry combatant, at a time when he was called upon to perform such a succession of marches as few armies in any quarter of the globe had ever attempted to complete, and when it was probable that the period of activity would be prolonged through the season, which includes the hottest months of the year.

If this change of system did little for the European, it offered still less compensation for the additional fatigue to the native soldier. He too might with advantage have been required to carry his watch coat, and his small brass *lota* or drinking pot. But in addition to these the standing orders of the Bengal army direct the Sipahee in heavy marching order to have with him an *unga* or undress tunic or short coat, a pair of trousers, a *dhotee,* or waist-cloth, a *durree* or small carpet, a *tawa* or iron utensil for cooking his *ottah,* and a pair of shoes. All of these might safely have been transported from camp to camp by his beast of burden. The experience of our long progresses from the Jumna to the Sutlege, from the Sutlege to the Indus, and from the Indus to the western and eastern capitals of Affghanistan, have fully proved the soundness of the opinions formed at Kurnal and Meerut to the effect that the prac-

tical usefulness to him of the articles carried by the sipahee or soldier never compensated him, or nearly so, for the serious inconvenience of their weight; an additional burden, which was found materially to contribute to exhaust the animal spirits, impede active exertion, and in not a few cases to produce or aggravate disease.

The 1st of November had been fixed as the day, from which all appointments in the "Army of the Indus" (so the force, to the adventures of which this narrative relates, was now designated by authority in general orders) were to bear date, and thus much of the intentions of the government was promulgated, that by a combined march the whole armament from the Bengal and Agra presidencies would be concentrated in the latter end of November at Ferozepore on the Sutlege, or to speak more precisely on the Gharra, thirty miles below the point where the waters of the Beyah or Hyphasis are poured into those of the Sutlege. There the governor-general was to meet in grand Durbar our ally the ruler of the Punjab, there all the arts of diplomacy were to be employed to strengthen the bands of our connexion with that state, and there such a display was to be made of the force of one contingent of the "army of the Indus," as would produce an im-

pression on the minds of the princes and potentates interested in the result, of its adequacy to the great task which it had marched to complete. But before I proceed to narrate these events, and the circumstances of the advance from the Jumna to the Sutlege, I propose to take a general view of the whole belligerent effort, which was expected from the force, of which I will not vainly reiterate the title; to estimate in some sort its adaption to the purposes to be accomplished, and to look generally at the subject in a way which will be best understood, when it is called an examination of the plan of campaign. I shall hope for an indulgent notice from military critics of any errors into which I may fall, in performing this part of my historic duty, if only it shall appear that I have availed myself with candour, diligence, and impartiality of such sources of information as were laid open to me.

I. I commence with an enumeration of the enemies, to whom this force might calculate on being opposed. (1.) In primary line. The horse and foot of the rulers of Candahar were estimated at this period at between four and five thousand men, and it was doubted whether they possessed any moveable artillery.

(2.) The regular army of the Ameer of Cabul

was said not to fall short of fifteen thousand soldiers, chiefly of horse of a good description, that is, if not very correctly disciplined, at least active, resolute, and well-mounted. Besides the guns necessary for the defence of his fortresses, it was also asserted that he had a respectable field artillery.

(3.) Over and above this array of force it was not to be expected that the British army could penetrate into Affghanistan without being exposed to constant attack from the predatory tribes inhabiting its frontier mountains. These would harass, annoy, and impede if they could not oppose any effectual obstacle to the ultimate success of the invasion.

(4.) There was also another foe, who seemed to have escaped the notice of the speculators within the Sutlege at this period. It was reasonable to anticipate from the Ameers of Sinde the bitterest hostility, since the object of the British in coming amongst them was to compel them to submit to conditions most hateful to them: viz., besides the payment of money, a demand to all most unpalatable, the admission of a foreign force within their territorial boundaries, and the establishment of military posts in their country by the British. The three principal Ameers could bring into the

field certainly not fewer than seven, three, and two thousand Sindians—in all twelve thousand soldiers, besides a contingent of mercenary Belooches amounting to at least as many more hardy, resolute, and rapacious men, whom they would be enabled to raise and embody at the shortest notice in the neighbouring territories of our *ally* Mihrab Khan of Kelat.

II. Next in second line, since when the British began to assemble at Kurnal they believed Herat to be yet closely surrounded by its enemies, we might have to encounter (5.) fifty thousand Persians, comprising the *élite* of the Sirbazes and Janbazes, who boasted of a moveable artillery, as well as a siege train, and who might be supposed to have derived some advantage from the British as well as Russian training and instruction of their men and officers, and whose manœuvres in the field might be directed, as their assault on the defences of the capital of Shah Kamran were known to have been, by Count Simonich, or perhaps some more able officer selected from amongst the Muscovite leaders.

III. Who could say, seeing that the policy of Russia had been in former periods of history as bold and unscrupulous at times, as it had been always subtle and persevering, who could

be assured that the reserve of the Persian army of invasion might not consist of (6.) masses of the European legions of the Czar, the conquerors of Erivan and of Varna under the most talented of the generals of the Autocrat? Though there was no positive information, indeed, to show that a single Russian soldier had yet marched across the Persian frontiers with the view of supporting the pretensions of Moohummud Shah to Herat, yet unforeseen events in war might offer an almost irresistible temptation to those, whom we knew at the best to be but hollow-hearted allies, to take the initiative against us. Such a contingency ought to have entered into all reasonable calculations for the invasion of Affghanistan, and the passage of the Helmund under the aspect presented by affairs in October, 1838.

2. Let the objects to be accomplished by the force be reviewed.

I. The first was that, which at the period of the assembly of the army attracted least attention of all on the Bengal side of India, and indeed seems to have been left entirely out of the considerations of its merely speculative politicians, viz., the placing on a stable footing our relations with the Ameers of Sinde, deservedly rebuking them for their overtures to Persia of

a character hostile to us, and compelling them on the ground of their insidious negotiations in that quarter to receive garrisons into their country along the whole line of the Indus from Bukkur to Curachie, besides enforcing a prospective recognition of the sovereignty of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk, and exacting the payment of the arrears of tribute due to him.

II. The second branch of the enterprise was the raising the siege of Herat, supposing it were still beleaguered by the Persians, and the supporting the city against any fresh attack, if already relieved.

III. The third project was the dispersion of any force, which the Barukzye chiefs might be enabled to array for the defence of Candahar and Cabul, the occupation of these two capitals, with the intermediate territory of the Ghiljee tribes, and the fortress of Ghuznee, and the reduction of the country of the Affghans (Herat excepted) under the dominion of Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk.

3. Let every line of operation be successively contemplated. A single glance at the map ascertains the rather singular circumstance that of the entire line of frontier, which the foregoing considerations have characterized as hostile, no part is open to immediate attack from

the territories of the Company excepting in the way of the maritime transmission of a force direct from Bombay to the Sindian coast. In every other direction the states of an ally, or of some power under our patronage or protection lie between us, and the country of our foes. Thus from Peshawur along the whole course of the Indus to the frontier line of the dominions of Meer Roostum Khan the principal Ameer of Khyrpore, which is between Surwaee and Subzulkote, no portion of the territories of the Barukzye chiefs can be assailed without passing through a part of those of the ruler of the Punjab. The Northern frontier of Upper Sinde cannot in like manner be attacked by land without traversing the country of the Nawab Bhawul Khan of Bhawulpore, whilst a force in order to march from the Bombay Presidency upon the eastern frontier of Lower Sinde must pass through the states of the Gaikowar, and the Rana of Cutch; and again, an army cantoned at Bukkur on the middle Indus cannot after crossing that river advance above three marches without finding itself in the dependencies neutral or allied, as the case might turn out to be, of Mihrab Khan, the lord paramount of the Belooches, whose province of Cutchee,

governed by his brother, confines a few miles south of Rojhan and Janeedera with that of Shikarpore, which owns the united sway of two of the rulers of the Talpore dynasty; viz., the Ameers of Hyderabad and Khyrpore.

It may be supposed that one and all of the princes, whose lands lay between the British, and the objects of their hostile seeking, would regard with a more or less jealous eye, the probability of a passage through them at some period of the coming war of the divisions of the army of the Indus, lest haply some of the causes, which conquerors find or feign, should operate to detain them in their territories for a period long enough to disturb the peace of mind of their masters, and as these misgivings might be calculated to be generated in a direct ratio to the value of the dominions to be traversed, the Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh might be supposed to stand at the head of the list of the potentates and petty princes, who may be figured as hourly wishing, that through the air above or under the earth beneath, there had been some safe passage, whereby the army of the Indus, and its terrible *matériel* might have been transported into Affghanistan without the necessity for a visit, however cursory or ami-

cable, to the countries under the rule of these rational alarmists, or even their frontier vicinage.

But supposing the Maha Rajah, and the Nawab of Bhawulpore, and the Gaikowar, and the Rao of Cutch, and Mihrab Khan of Kelat, and the whole of his subordinates to be one, and all consenting to the invasion of the provinces of the Ameers of Sinde, and of the Barukzye chiefs through the medium of a transit through their own villages, towns, and cities, then it may, I think, be assumed, that there lay open to the army of the Indus lines of operation, nine in number, from Bengal, and Bombay conjointly.*

Bengalaga in claims precedence in this enumeration. I. (1.) The first and most obvious, as well as the shortest route to be taken into Affghanistan is that from Ferozepore through the Punjab, under the walls of its capital to Attock, Peshawur, Jellalabad, and Cabul. Regarding this line, however, the minds of men in India had been haunted by a terrible bugbear. That range of the Teera mountains, which rests on

* It is perhaps unnecessary to explain that by Bengal, here and elsewhere in the text, are generally meant those provinces which might more precisely be designated as the territories of the Bengal and Agra presidencies.

the Indus at Attock, and terminates to the westward in the lofty peak of Soofeid Koh is full of difficult defiles, and the most tremendous of these was at this period described as winding from Peshawur, twenty-five miles onward in the direction of Jellalabad, its sides and summits being occupied by a hardy race of predatory mountaineers denominated Khyberees, who had from time immemorial considered it their inalienable privilege and birthright to rob and murder travellers, and levy *black mail* from Kafilas. But, as neither Marrees, nor Moozarees, nor Kakurs, nor Achikzyes succeeded in arresting the progress of the leading column of the army of the Indus through the Durru of Bolan, or the defile of the Kozuk, and as little could the progress of the Bombay column through the former pass be checked by the levy *en masse* of the Belooche myrmidons of Mihrab Khan collected to oppose them; so neither it may be hoped would the Khyberees have had to boast of bringing to a halt our armament, had it been deemed expedient that it should have moved through the twenty-five miles of frowning and tortuous route, of which the Khyberee freebooter was said at this period to consider himself the prescriptive monarch. Neither because the Sirdars of Runjeet Singh

had since his acquisition of Peshawur suffered themselves to be held at bay by the forces of Ameer Dost Moohummud, and had seemed to acquiesce in the conclusion that the eastern gorge of the defile of the Khyber was to be the limit of their conquest in that direction, was it at all necessary that the British should give way to any senseless apprehension of the fate of the vanquished in the Caudine forks awaiting all who entered in arms this mysterious valley, or despair of either by attack in front or a turning movement or combination contriving to debouche with safety and satisfaction at Duka on the high-road to Jellalabad, and finally in front of that city itself. Let this route therefore be set down as one, by which Affghanistan might have been assailed from the Agra Provinces in December, 1838.

(2.) It is almost a matter of form to notice in the second place the line of Cohat by which, in 1809, Mr. Elphinstone reached Peshawur, since a force moving thereby would, after crossing the Indus near Dera Ismael Khan, and proceeding up the right bank of the river and penetrating a part of the Teera chain, find itself after all at Peshawur two marches from the eastern gorge of *the terrible pass*, which it must still

traverse, or turn before it could reach Jellalabad.

II. But there is a road through Dera Ismael Khan, which must by no means be omitted in our enumeration. Mr. Elphinstone marching from Bhawulpore by Leia reached Dera by crossing the Indus at Caheree ford, fifty miles at least lower down. But if an army breaking up from the Ghara, and skirting Lahore should cross the Chenaub and the Jelum, and come down upon the right bank of the Indus at a point near and opposite Dera, and there establish a bridge; then a passage would be open before it (it is presumed) by marching through that town, where, turning to its right, it would ford the stream of the Gomul, advance to Kaneegorum, and mastering in one place the ascent of the Tukht-i-Soolueman reach Ghuznee in the very heart of the dominion of the ruler of Cabul, and occupy a central position between the capitals, and forces of Dost Moohummud Khan aud Kohun Dil Khan. After writing thus it is proper that I should mention that some have been disposed to question the very existence, others the practicability of the route, which I have just indicated. Either assumption rests at present, as it appears to me,

on very insufficient grounds. Surwur Khan, the Kafila Bashee of the Lohanee merchants, the nature of whose connexion with the army of the Indus will appear in the sequel, has positively affirmed that there is no other route across the Soolueman range into Affghanistan by Dera Ismael Khan than that, which leads from Dera Ghazee Khan, and debouches far to the westward, and nearer to Candahar than to Ghuznee; and Sir Alexander Burnes was disposed to consider his testimony as decisive; but several respectable Affghans residing between Ghuznee and Cabul afterwards maintained the fact of the road by Kaneegorum as above designated, being passable by horse and foot even in the winter season, and only in one place impracticable for guns.

It was of the utmost importance in October, 1838, that the truth in this matter should have been ascertained by a careful reconnoissance and survey; for if artillery could have by any means been transported by this road, it is not difficult to appreciate the immense advantage of being enabled thus to combine upon Ghuznee and Cabul, whilst a false attack might have been made by the route of the Khyber. Though history does not, so far as I am aware, fully establish the fact, yet it appears probable that

by this very route, and not through the Khyber Pass, Muhmood of Ghuznee, and a part also of the forces of Timour, must have marched to invade Hindoostan.

III. Few places in the Indus absorb so much of the attention of the strategist as Dera Ismael Khan, when he looks towards the frontiers and capitals of Affghanistan; for another line of operation is said to present itself, which leads from this town, crossing near its highest ascent indeed the range of Tukht-i-Soolueman, and then branching into two routes, the one conducting without further recorded impediment into the valley of the Urghesan and to Candahar, turning the Gautee range, and the other promising access by a less eligible line into the eastward portion of the valley of Pesheen or Peshing, near Alizye.

It is here to be remarked that the more easterly of these two routes is the same, or not far distant from that, which has been acknowledged as the true road of the Lohanee merchants by Surwur Khan, their Kafila Bashee. When questioned by Sir Alexander Burnes, this individual asserted that it was the practice of his people to assemble at Dera Ghazee Khan, thence travel to Dera Ismael Khan along the bank of the river, and then move on to Dera-

bund,* crossing in their course both the Goomul and the Soolueman range, but debouching considerably to the south-westward of Ghuznee. It is plain, therefore, that either this or the other two routes above adverted to, could only be taken as lines of manœuvre on Candahar. I am not yet in possession of the information which would enable me positively, and exactly to say, to which of these roads properly belongs the received denomination of the Golaree pass.

IV. Omitting more than a bare allusion to other durrus, or small mountain defiles (there are several), which would probably have been found, on trial, dangerous or impracticable, we arrive at the Rowat pass. To reach this the march through the Punjab must be by Mooltan, and thence across the Indus very near to Dera Ghazee Khan. The line then runs through Tull and Chootealy, and by crossing first the Soolueman range, and afterwards the mountains of Sewestan, where, if topographers may be trusted, near the peak of Chupper six ranges

* A memoir and sketch of this route will be found amongst the papers of the *Asiatic Journal*, communicated by Dr. Martin Honigsberg, surgeon in the service of the ruler of the Punjab. This gentleman accompanied the Lohanees into Affghanistan across the Soolueman range.

of the latter run towards a centre, the town of Sira Kila may be gained. Thus an army is landed in another way in the valley of Pesheen, and may advance on Candahar.

V. There is yet another road of which Dera Ghazee Khan is the *tête-de-file*, viz., that which passes through Hurrend and Dajil, hereditary possessions of Shah Shooja, but now part and parcel of the guaranteed dominion of the ruler of Lahore, and thence by Lheree and Bhag to Dadur. From the last-named town it is coincident with the entrance into Affghanistan, the most celebrated of all in these latter days, by which the country has been twice assailed within five years, once by the grandson of Ahmed Shah, unaided, in 1834, and again, with a more favourable result, by the British army, on his behalf, in 1839.

VI. This is the Bolan pass, to which we now come in due order. It was the plan of the supreme government of India to cause their armies to advance by this durru from Bukkur; which they were to constitute their place of strength, and great depot on the Indus. Shikarpore, which is the next important post, is only two marches further to the northward, and one short stage beyond this the boundary line of Cutchee or Cutch Gundava is crossed. There succeeds a

considerable tract of desert, but as some wells were always to be found in it, and the number was greatly increased by the British at the villages of Rojhan, Burshoree, Meerpore, and Oostar, there is no insurmountable obstacle to the passage of a large army by small detachments at a time, in the cooler months. After April the desert is swept by a pestilential simoom, and the heat becomes too great for any troops to keep the field in Cutchee; nor is the salubrity increased when the descent of rain converts the low level of the whole province into a swamp of salt marshes. From Oostar there is one march only to Bhag, where the brother of Mihrab Khan holds his court, and thence again one more to the village of Muhesir, on the Bolan river. This place stands without the first defiles of the Brahoik or Hala range. They can easily be turned, and are passed when a force reaches Noushuhra. Hence it will have to make but one march more to Dadur.

The towns of Bhag and Dadur, as well as Shikarpore, are naturally to be reckoned successive places of arms; and an advancing force ought, with the view of securing its water as well as its communications, to establish small posts in the mud fortresses of the villages of

Janeedera, Rojhan, Burshoree, and Meerpore. At Dadur commences the labour of passing the mountain range, but the ascent through the durru of Bolan, following the meanderings of its river, is not painful, until the columns approach Siri Bolan, that streamlet's source, and thence one day's effort brings them into the table-land called the Dusht-i-bee-doulut, or "Poverty-stricken plain." An army passes easily over that level to Kwote, or Kwettah in Shawl, another excellent place of arms, which boasts a wall of curtains and round towers, a ditch, and a citadel; and from it descends to the lower valleys of Koochlak and Peesheen, crosses the Lora, and the range of mountains called Khojah Amran, into the plains beyond, and choosing its road through the not difficult passes of the Gautee hills, reaches the rivers Dooree and Urghesan, the latter of which it may find filled with water, or dry, according to the season; and lastly, the plain, on which stands Candahar.

It is clear that, as a force from Bengal would advance through the Bolan by marching down the bank of the Indus, and crossing the territorial boundary of Upper Sinde, between Surwaee and Subzulkote, or moving from Dera Ghazee Khan to Dadur, according to the line

selected, so one from Bombay might, in like manner, approach this famous pass, by ascending either bank of the same great river. This line of advance, therefore, is as it were, common to both contingents. We proceed to look at those which belong to Bombay alone.

VII. A force destined to invade Sinde, or to co-operate in the passage of the frontiers of Affghanistan, embarking at Bombay or at Mandavie in Cutch might with ease land at a point on either bank of the Hujamree branch of the Indus, or make a descent at Curachie after overcoming the fire of its fort. There are indeed very strong currents on the coast, and shallows, and a very sudden and extraordinary ebb and flow at the mouth of the great river. Violent storms too have often to be encountered there, such as that which had so nearly arrested the progress of Burnes in 1831. But with good transports, able launches, and a well-equipped steamer to aid the expedition, there was not much reason to dread disaster. How the force thus debarked on the margin of the sea, or the bank of the great river was to obtain means of transport in a hostile country for ulterior operations is an important consideration, which must be reserved for a more fitting opportunity.

VIII. and IX. Until better instructed I must hold it to have been a thing feasible that the Bombay army fully equipped within the limits of its own presidency, and amply provided with camels and provisions, should, if assembled at Deesa, have marched on Hyderabad by Omerkote and Meerpore, detaching troops for the reduction of the little fort of Islamkote; or, if brought together at Bhooj, should have reached the same point by manœuvring on Lucput and Tatta, a maritime force in either case co-operating to the full extent, to which such aid was required, viz., by demolishing the defences of Curachee, seizing that point, and transporting provisions only up the Indus, preferably, I should imagine, by the Pittee branch in as close communication as possible with the armament on shore. The objects in Sinde effected, either with or without the support of one or more of the Bengal brigades, a junction with its main body would be the next thing to be desired. It appears to me that the safest point for this purpose was Bukkur, though so long as the Candahar Affghans had no levies ready to take the field, it might have been carried into effect at Shikarpore, or Dadur, or further on, as it actually was, at Kwettah in Shawl. Thence-

forth, that is from the point of union wherever it might be, the two contingents would operate on the same line of advance.

It has been remarked that the frontiers of Affghanistan are fenced in on every side from assault from Bengal by the territories of allied powers, or in other words, that large fragments of the kingdom of Cabul, and its dependencies, which descended intact to the immediate successor of Ahmed Shah, had been broken off and separated from the mass during the struggles which supervened in the days of his sons. Many provinces had fallen into the hands of the ruler of the Punjab, the feudatory Bhawal Khan had become his own master, and Cutchee, which as a portion of Beloochistan, owed once a nominal submission to the head of the Dooranee empire, had passed into a state of undisguised independence. Now the Khan of Khelat, as well as the Nuwab of Bhawulpore, was considered, in 1838, to have been our ally, and as the Muharajah Runjeet Singh was united to us by the closest ties of amity, it is evident that the diminished frontier line of the Barukzye chiefs could not be attacked without passing through an allied or friendly territory. But this ought not to have been a reason for hesitating to take any one of the six first lines of

operation, which have been successively reviewed; for, 1st, the Khan of Khelat always professed to welcome the entrance of our troops into his states at the foot of the Brahoik range, however singular might be the marks of favour bestowed on our followers and stragglers by some of the wilder of his subjects; and, 2ndly, the Nuwab Bhawul Khan was, as we shall see, consistently hospitable; and, 3rdly, our great confederate under the *Tripartite treaty*, must either on due representation have acceded to our request for a free passage for troops, stores, and cannon, through the Punjab or Moultan, or it may be supposed, that the governor-general of India would have well known briefly how to signify to him his opinion of the aspect of affairs, and to make him sensible that a great crisis had arrived, when all that were not cordially and unequivocally for us, must be held to be against us, and that Persians, Sindians, and the Barakzye chiefs had sided with Russia, had become our open or detected adversaries, and that it behoved his highness the Maharaja also to make his election categorically. If, therefore, negotiation had failed, force of arms would have opened for us a passage through such parts of the Punjab as would have enabled us to advance upon any of the lines embraced

in the five first sections of the foregoing enumeration.

But the government saw good reason for ordering the advance of the army of the Indus to be conducted by the sixth route, viz., that of the Bolan. It may have been led to form this determination by some one or more of the following reasons: 1st, The governor-general might have deemed the ready, cheerful, and confiding co-operation of Runjeet Singh of such importance as to render him unwilling to run the risk of giving the slightest umbrage in that quarter, or awakening suspicions by even hinting a desire to cause a powerful army to traverse any part of the newly-acquired dominions which were now guaranteed to the wily and favoured usurper. 2ndly, It might from the first have been thought probable that both contingents would have to co-operate towards a satisfactory adjustment of affairs in Sinde. Or, 3rdly, if the force from Bombay were deemed ample for this purpose, it might have been objected to any plan of attack on a line further to the north-east than the Bolan, that it would deprive the contingent from Bengal altogether of the aid of that from the other presidency in ulterior operations. Or 4thly, it might up to the end of October, 1838, since the news of the raising of

the siege of Herat did not reach Simlah before November, have been considered politic to forego every other advantage for the sake of meeting the most pressing danger first, and commencing our efforts by supporting Shah Kamran in his energetic resistance to the Persians. Whether any or all or none of these considerations weighed with the government, its resolution was at least not kept secret; but as early as August it was known in our upper provinces, that on the line above indicated under the sixth head the force from Bengal was to move, and that with that view depots and magazines had been established in the territories of the Nuwab Bhawul Khan, and that the British agent for the encouragement of commerce on the Indus, Lieutenant Mackeson, had been instructed to improve with the khan's concurrence, the roads down the left bank of the Gharra, and that boats had been collected at his capital, and brought up to Ferozepore for the transport of grain down the great stream.

Kurnal was the point, which had been fixed on for the provisional assembly of the mass of the artillery under Brigadier Graham, and of the two divisions of infantry under Major-generals Sir Willoughby Cotton and Duncan.

Upon this station, therefore, a whole brigade moved from Meerut, and another from Agra; whilst the several corps of native infantry, which came from more distant points, approached it independently at as rapid a pace as circumstances of climate would permit. Of the cavalry, which Brigadier Arnold was to command, the lancers and the 2nd light cavalry were at Meerut. Their route to Ferozepore was to be through Delhi, where the camel battery was to be temporarily united to them, whilst the 3rd light cavalry, which made up the number of regiments of the brigade, having been cantoned at Kurnal, was, by an arrangement of like duration, to follow the direction of the artillery brigade up to the bank of the Gharra. Brigadier Arnold's force, as having the longer line of road to move over, was earliest put in motion, whilst Brigadier Graham, and Generals Cotton and Duncan, after having, under instructions from head-quarters, encamped their brigades and divisions at Kurnal, carefully inspected the several corps, and seen to the supply of every departmental and regimental deficiency, stood ready to proceed to the point of more general rendezvous.

Orders had been issued about this time to make a very valuable addition to the force by

the formation into a brigade of the 1st, 2nd, and 4th regiments of local horse. To whom, at such a crisis, could the command of these irregulars be so fitly intrusted as to Colonel James Skinner, the oldest and most experienced of the partisan leaders of British India? Under him, with the rank of brigadier, it was proposed that these corps should have been united, and taken the field. His head-quarters, therefore, had to be transferred early in November from Hansi, the permanent station, in quiet times, of his own corps, to Ferozepore.

The route of the Bengal force lay through the territories commonly denominated the Independent Sikh states. These are petty dominions on the left bank of the Sutlege and Gharra, with which Runjeet Singh is, by treaty, prohibited from interfering, and which have thus been saved from his grasp. The rulers of this confederation regard the Governor-general of India in some sort as its protector, and some of these pigmy circles have already lapsed, and others will come into the possession of the British, in default of heirs, on the death of their late and present masters. The lands of this knot of petty sovereigns are bounded on the south-east by the British territories; on the north by those of that powerful neighbour, whose rule,

like Aaron's rod, has at length swallowed up all other domination in the Punjab; and to the westward by the state of the Nuwab of Bhawulpore, and yield revenue at present to the Rajahs of Pattiala, Kythul, and numerous other "Tritons of the minnows." A British agent, stationed at Umballa, watches from that point over the interests of his own government, which he represents at all these small Durbars and exercises, in its name, a benign and salutary influence over these rude and ignorant rulers. His task, at this conjuncture, became specially important. On him and his assistants devolved the superintendence of the cutting and improving of as many routes as might be traversed without inconvenience to each other by the several columns of the force about to be put in motion, and the care of forming by means of the Ameens, and other public officers of the petty princes, numerous magazines of grain of every description on the several lines of advance, as well as of securing the peaceable conduct, and aid in various ways, whenever it might be required, of the working population. From these districts also had been drawn a considerable portion of the camels with their drivers, which were to form the means of transport of the troops of all arms. This, too, had

been done through the same instrumentality. These were not light duties, and therefore it was a most favourable circumstance that the intendancy of these states rested at this time in the hands of an individual combining so much of experience and local information, with the energy, personal activity, and indefatigable zeal which were united in the political agent, Mr. George Clerk.

The instructions from head-quarters, as promulgated in general orders, had prescribed that the force should advance to Ferozepore in four columns; but in this number neither the camps of the governor-general or commander-in-chief, nor the brigade of local horse, were included; so that, in fact, seven considerable bodies of troops and followers were traversing the protected states between the 8th and 30th November.

1. The governor-general with his suite, civil departments, and administrations escorted by the 4th Bengal light cavalry, and detachments of native infantry, moved from Simla by Rooper, cutting into the great route to Ferozepore at Loodiana, and reaching the Sutlege on the 27th November.

2. The commander-in-chief, and the general staff (Queen's and Company's) of the Indian

army, including those officers, who had been chosen to proceed with his excellency on the meditated expedition beyond the Indus, starting from the same point, descended to Subathoo, Pinjore, and Munnee Majra, and crossed the route of Brigadier Graham near Kureem kee Suraee, and that of the 2d division of infantry near Basseen. His line of road thus becoming coincident with that of the first division at Bhaga Poorana, his march terminated at Ferozepore on the 25th November.

3. Brigadier Graham with his artillery, and the 3rd light cavalry moved from Kurnal to Ferozepore by the main road of Thanesir, Umballa, and Loodiana, accomplishing his task between the 6th and 28th November.

4. General Duncan broke up from Kurnal on the 7th November, and moved nearly northwest. Leaving the great Loodiana route, and the town of Patiala to the eastward, and right of his force, he passed through the several places called Pekah, Sumana, Basseen, and Sooltan Khanwala, and arrived at Ferozepore on the 26th November.

5. Sir Willoughby Cotton reached it on the same day, having marched under the picturesque towers and town of Khytul, the capital of the Raj of the same name, crossed the Guggur

river near Passawur, and prosecuted his route by Bhudour, Bhaga Poorana, and Moodukee.

6. Brigadier Arnold marched from Meerut upon Delhi on the 30th October. Joined there by the Camel battery, he passed near to Moonuka, the line of the Guggur, and proceeding onward through Monuk, Jeewund, and Fureed kot, reached the camp of rendezvous on the 28th November.

7. The head-quarters of the irregular brigade breaking up from Hansi, moved by a route yet further to the westward, passing through Hissar, Futtihabad and Butinda, and which became identical, one march short of Furreed kot, with that of the cavalry of Meerut.

Thus by the last of November, the camp of the governor-general had been three days fixed on a spot within four miles of the Gharra, whilst the Bengal artillery, cavalry, infantry, and irregular horse of the army of the Indus, were disposed two miles nearer to the walls of Ferozepore on an extensive line of encampment. The Maharaja, meanwhile, on his side had occupied the right bank of the river with ten thousand of his troops, and a numerous artillery, and had pitched on a sandy eminence his imposing array of tents, pavilions, and kunauts of crimson cashmere shawl-cloth.

Messages of courtesy were passing between the Governor-general of India and his Highness, across the bridge of boats, which had been established over the Gharra.

Ferozepore was well chosen as the scene of the political interviews between the rulers of British India and of the Punjab; but it is to be related that before the army had reached this point, important intelligence had come from the north-westward, to the effectt hat the representations of the Queen of England's government made through the British envoy, Doctor McNeil, had at length prevailed, and that Moohummud Shah had withdrawn in haste his forces from before Herat, and was retiring by rapid marches on his own capital. The effect of this event was felt immediately in the army of the Indus. An interview took place between Sir Henry Fane and Sir Willoughby Cotton at Bhaga Poorana, at which it was announced that, in consequence of the decrease in the magnitude of the objects to be effected, a corresponding diminution would take place in the numbers of the force; that it would not longer be esteemed necessary that Sir Henry Fane should retain the command, and that he accordingly would avail himself of the present opportunity (his successor being expected, in consequence

of his excellency's own application, to arrive in India in February, 1839) of realizing his long cherished wish of returning to his native land. That he would therefore embark on the Gharra at Ferozepore, and proceed down the Indus to Bombay, leaving the charge of the troops of the Presidency to Sir Willoughby Cotton, up to the moment at which they might be united to those from Bombay, when the command of the whole would devolve on Sir John Keane.

A change also was to take place in the Bengal contingent. A division was to be left under General Duncan, to observe the Sutlege, and a reduction of the artillery of the force was to be carried into effect. It became necessary to fix the corps, which were to remain at Ferozepore, and as this detention in the background would be painful and unpalatable to all, Sir Henry Fane, like Timour consulting the Koran before he marched into Hindoostan, determined that the matter should be decided by lot. The result of this military sortilege completed in his excellency's tent, was announced to be, that of the infantry, the 1st, 2nd, and 4th brigades should move forward, and the 3rd and 5th remain near the Gharra, an arrangement which left the army the aid of the services of the 13th light infantry, and Bengal European regiment;

but deprived it of that of the Buffs. Under the excitement and depression arising from the knowledge of these recent events, and meditated changes, the corps of the army in succession reached Ferozepore.

The breaking up of the force, which had been encamped on the extensive plains, that surround the cantonment of Kurnal had been marked by a circumstance strongly characteristic of Indian warfare. The troops of several arms belonging to the 1st and 2nd divisions of infantry, and the artillery under Brigadier Graham, and the cavalry, which accompanied it, were to move on the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th of November. As the routes had all been distinctly indicated, and it was known to every one that whilst Brigadier Graham was to march by the better frequented, but more circuitous road through Umballa, the two divisions of infantry were to follow the less beaten tracks through the centre of the Sikh states, no confusion was anticipated. As regarded the troops and *matériel*, good care was taken that there should be none; but who can control the current of the imagination of the followers of an Indian army, give wisdom or intelligence to a *surwan*, or sagacity to a *cooly?*

It is usual, when no foe is near, to despatch in

advance with the officers and non-commissioned officers, who perform the duties of previous castrametation, small tents, which constitute on the arrival of the columns provisional places of shelter for their owners from a burning sun. Thus, when the troops reach their ground, a little town is seen already marked out with flags of various colours, and a few white *routies*, *pals*, and *bee chobas*, so these minor tabernacles are named, already indicate the direction of the canvass streets, which are soon to be reared up and peopled. But though on this occasion no pains had been spared to make the distinction of columns and brigades clear to all understandings, and to explain the situation of the three several camps, Hindoostanee perversity had defeated all precaution, the *peeshkhuemu* (advance tents) of part of the infantry had boldly steered for Leela Kheree, the first march of Brigadier Graham; the camels of General Duncan's columns were found browsing and bewildered after their night's march in the encampment of Sir Willoughby Cotton, and clamorous followers of the division of the latter were shivering in the morning's cold, and lamenting their labour lost in the lines of General Duncan. It was an affair of patience. By noon, by dint of counter-marching, retracing

their footsteps, and ploughing their way across country, from route to route, both baggage, animals, and followers, with their tents and various loads had jumbled with tolerable success into their places, and the direction of the road having been once ascertained, there was some hope of better sailing on the morrow.

This was the ludicrous portion of the affair, the humour of the low life of the scene. The march of the columns themselves was conducted after another fashion. As the towns and villages of the Sikh states were small, and the inhabitants had for many years seen little of armaments beyond the occasional progress of a commander-in-chief, or the passage of bodies of the irregular troops of their own Sirdars, and as a scarcity of water was in some places to be apprehended, the first division of infantry moved in three columns on successive days. Twelve years had elapsed since the officers of the 13th had been summoned to the duties of actual service, and as at three o'clock in the morning of the 8th November the bugles of the first brigade were heard, and the columns were put in motion by moonlight into the cross roads, which conducted from the level around the cantonment to the tracks (roads would be a misnomer), over sandy plains, and through

dreary jungle, which led to Kythul, thoughts crowded into the mind of the distant land into which we had last carried war, and its concomitants; and anticipations followed of the long and untried routes which now lay before us, and of the important changes in the destiny and character of nations hidden in the clouds, that cover the future, which we were marching to effect, and of that series of adventures, of which this first turn out was the opening prelude, but the sequel or issue of which to states or individuals none could foresee. Thus meditating we rode on towards the encampment of Neesingh.

When the traveller or soldier passes the boundaries of the British provinces into those of the native rulers around, he commonly perceives that the transition is distinctly marked by a deteriorated state of agriculture and roads, the absence of an effective police, and the meaner appearance of the villages. The dominions of the Rajah of Kythul formed no exception to this rule. He is an unfortunate bedridden sufferer from a complication of diseases, and his dissolution being at this time daily expected, the British functionaries were looking forward in the hope not only of his domains, but of some lacs, which he and his predecessors

had horded, falling into the possession of their masters. The division reached on the third day his capital, and halted near it on the fourth, which was the sabbath. His Muhul, or royal dwelling, is a picturesque collection of lofty buildings, on a height commanding a town of thirty thousand inhabitants. The divisions pursued their march without incident worthy of remark. Though the roads run generally over deep and heavy sands they had, under the auspices of Mr. Clerk, been rendered perfectly practicable, and his excellent arrangements had secured for the troops sufficient supplies of every description. The Ameens of the native chieftains were in the camps, and attended to all requisitions, and they doubtless profited not a little by a season so favourable for peculation; there was abundance of every thing; and no complaints, on the part of the inhabitants, no breaches of discipline, no plunder, no outrage on that of the troops. Lack of water had been apprehended; but as the brigades moved consecutively, the supply from the wells was found insufficient on one halting-ground only, and that for a few short hours. Every where else there was for the regiments in each encampment an abundance of this prime necessary of life, an advantage which subsequent events

taught the soldiers of this force properly to appreciate.

On the morning of the 26th our leading column, as it paused in darkness for a few minutes, felt the breeze blow with unusual freshness. We were approaching the waters of the Gharra. We passed by the glimmering light of daybreak through the walled town of Ferozepore, the ditch of which had been deepened, and its defences improved by our engineers, and in the plains a few hundred yards beyond found the lines of a vast encampment already traced out, in which we took our places.

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. A force has never been brought together in any country in a manner more creditable and soldierlike than was the Bengal portion of the army of the Indus. Many of the regiments had harassing marches to perform before they could reach Kurnal, but all arrived there in the highest order. It was a measure wise and impartial to select for the service those corps, which the commander-in-chief in his recent tours of inspection had remarked as having attained to a high point of discipline and efficiency.

2°. The advance through the protected Sikh

states is worthy of all praise. The selection of the routes was good, and the manner in which the roads were rendered practicable for every arm, and supplies brought upon each line of communication, reflected much credit on the exertions and cheerful co-operation of the political authorities, and the commissariat department.

3°. In completing these marches generals of division and brigadiers were necessarily independent for the time of all superior control: To them, therefore, the credit is due of the exactest discipline having been preserved. The Sikh population not only sustained no inconvenience whatever from the passage of this large force through their country, but were great gainers by the sale at a good price of their grain, and other commodities. They afterwards ill requited the army for this considerate and liberal behaviour. A great portion of its camels and their drivers had been hired for the campaign on terms of ample remuneration from their districts. Sikh *surwans* were the first to set the example of that desertion, which crippled the force so grievously in its march down the banks of the Gharra and Indus.

4°. It has been seen that the raising of the

siege of Herat led to a diminution in the force to be actively employed. This might have been reasonable, but surely the mode in which it was carried into effect was erroneous, not to say puerile. Was it not the province of the commander-in-chief definitively and without appeal to decide what portion of the army still left at his disposal was the fittest to carry into execution the further plans of government? Surely this was as legitimate a discharge of his functions as the original selection of corps, or their partition into brigades and divisions. It was a difficulty for the solution of a nice discrimination, and a case for the exercise of a sound military judgment, not a matter to be decided by the casting of the lot, or put upon the hazard of the die. Sir Henry Fane need not thus have distrusted, nor paid so poor a compliment to his own sagacity and impartiality: the one had seldom been at fault in India or in Europe, the other was above suspicion. Sortilege, after all, did little for the army in one instance; for it sent forward to the labours of the campaign the 13th light infantry, then, as ever, zealous indeed, and full of alacrity: but even at Ferozepore shattered by disease; the spirit of its soldiers willing, but their physical powers

unequal to the task; whilst it doomed to inactivity the Buffs, one of the most effective European corps in India.

5°. The 2nd division of infantry was left with a large proportion of artillery to observe temporarily the line of the Sutlege, supporting itself on the fortress of Ferozepore; but ought not a yet greater change than this to have been made in the plan of the campaign? So soon as it was known that the Persians had retreated, the most urgent of the remaining objects was the overthrow of Dost Moohummud Khan. For this purpose, whilst the force of the Sikhs aided by British artillery, and by the irregular force under the direction of Colonel Wade, and accompanied by the Shahzada Timour, eldest son of Shah Shooja, threatened the pass of Khyber, ought not the Bengal contingent of the army of the Indus to have debouched by the lower Punjab, crossed the great river, near Dera Ismael Khan, and preceded by its sappers, whose labours would have sufficed to render the route through Kaneegorum, Beermul, and Shorkuch practicable, moved upon and captured Ghuznee, and made it the centre of its operations? Would not this at once have had the effect of laying all Affghanistan at the feet of the exiled monarch, since it would have opened

the way to both Candahar and Cabul, and probably have placed the reinstated sovereign in a few weeks in his eastern capital? I venture to think that such would have been the results of this combination; premising, however, that this opinion is based on the hypothesis of the practicability of a direct road to Ghuznee across the Sooluеman range, which no British officer had, up to the end of 1838, tested by actual survey. Whether these views be correct or not, they have at least not been originated after the knowledge of recent events, but were entertained and promulgated three months before the army took the field.

Would not the Bombay contingent (*if it had marched instead of sailing* from its presidency) have amply sufficed for the capture of Hydrabad, and the reduction of Bukkur, whilst, in case of need, the Bengal reserve at Ferozepore might have advanced to its aid? The grand superiority of such an enterprise over an invasion by the Bolan consists in the shortness of the routes, the close and concentric character of the combination upon Cabool, the promise of an early termination of the contest when a blow had thus been struck at a vital part, and the avoiding the opprobrium of the plan, which was in effect adopted, viz. a line, or to speak

more truly a circle of communication of fifteen hundred miles perpetually interrupted along its whole extent, and insulted by the bands of every predatory chief, who could boast himself the master of five muskets. I have imbodied the foregoing queries, and indulged in the foregoing speculations, as matter of reflection for those who have made war their study far more successfully than I can ever hope to do. The selection of a line of operations is commonly a task so beset with conflicting difficulties, that those, who have been the most accustomed to weigh examples of this portion of the strategic art will be the least disposed to dogmatize in their review of the decisions of others. The important subject discussed in this paragraph will be considered in another division of this work in connexion with circumstances, to which it would be an inconvenient interruption of the sequence of the narrative at present more particularly to advert.

6°. The mischief of overweighting the soldier with his knapsack, which in Indian wars he has not ordinarily been called upon to carry, excepting when, as in Ava for instance, means of transport have literally not been procurable, has been already noticed. Perhaps it was the only error committed in originally preparing

for the field the army of the Indus. The judicious, zealous, and far from inconsiderate commander was probably misled in this instance by his almost exclusively European experience. He would have done well to have listened regarding this matter to some of the many officers around him, whose long acquaintance with warfare in India, and intimate knowledge of its climate, and its effects on the physical powers of the soldier, gave them a claim to attention. One of the evil consequences of this mandate was, that as literal obedience was soon found to be absolutely impracticable, neglect of its tenour was very generally connived at throughout the force—a state of things always injurious to discipline.

CHAPTER II.

Camps on both banks of the Gharra—Visit of Runjeet Singh —Return visit of Lord Auckland—Festivities—Reviews—Detail of movements—Review of the Sikhs—Character of their tactics—Observations.

Sir Henry Fane had arrived on the ground of the grand encampment on the 25th of November, and when the 1st division came up, it found him controlling by his personal observation all the arrangements, which were in progress. From time to time, on the morning of the 26th, discharges of artillery and a roll of musketry, from the right bank of the river, which flowed along our front, but owing to the distance and nature of the country was not to be discerned from our tents, proved the activity in military exercises of the troops of the potent Sikh ruler.

On the 27th the governor-general reached

the spot selected for him, and from that time to the breaking up of his camp, to proceed to Lahore on his visit to the Maha Rajah, reviews, interviews, and entertainments followed in rapid succession. I shall confine myself to a very brief account of these showy pageants, gay doings, and feats of mimic war.

I. Interviews—1. The Maha Rajah paid his visit to the Governor-general on the 28th inst. His lordship's camp was about four miles from the bank of the Gharra. It consisted of a wide street of large tents, in the centre of which was the suite of lofty and spacious apartments of canvass used for the purposes of the Durbar. There is an established ceremonial on these ocasions. An escort of all arms usually lines the space between the pavilions for some hundred yards, and the elephants of the British *suwarree* are drawn up in front of the Durbar tent. As the approach of the visiter is announced, the *howdas* of these stately animals are quickly filled by the governor-general and his suite, the secretaries, diplomatists, and all the superior officers present. The united staffs and suites of Lord Auckland and Sir Henry Fane were, on the day of this interview, imposing, and the display of elephants little less than magnificent; but as the salute of ordnance—

the recognised harbinger of the coming of the Maharaja—was heard, all interest was concentrated in the person of the crafty, bold, and fortunate adventurer, who begun his career as a simple Sikh sirdar, and has ended it as lord of the Punjab, Mooltan, Cashmere, and the territory of Peshawur.

The British *suwarree* moved forward a few yards to pay the compliment of the *istiqbal* as it is called, or initiative advance in meeting; both *suwarrees* having halted for a moment before this courteous concession was made. Lord Auckland habited in a blue coat embroidered with gold, and wearing the ribbon of the bath, his secretaries in the showy diplomatic costume of similar colour and richness, Sir Henry Fane in the uniform of a general-officer covered with orders, the tallest, and most stately person in the whole procession of both nations, the numerous staffs of the civil ruler and military chief in handsome uniforms, made altogether "a gallant show," as their animals, with a simultaneous rush urged by the blows and voices of the *mohauts* moved to the front. Forward to meet them then came on a noisy and disorderly though gorgeous rabble of Sikh horse and foot men, shouting out the titles of their great sirdar, some habited in glittering

brocade, some in the *busuntee*, or bright spring yellow dresses, which command so much respect in the Punjab, some wearing chain armour. But behind these clamorous foot and cavaliers were the elephants of the Lord of Lahore; and seated in the foremost was seen an old man in an advanced stage of decrepitude, clothed in faded crimson, his head wrapped up in folds of cloth of the same colour. His single eye still lighted up with the fire of enterprise, his gray hair and beard, and countenance of calm design, assured the spectators that this could be no other than the old "Lion of the Punjab."

The shock of elephants at the moment of meeting is really terrific. More than a hundred of these active and sagacious, but enormous animals, goaded on by their drivers in contrary directions, are suddenly brought to a standstill by the collision of opposing fronts and foreheads. This is the most interesting moment; for now the governor-general, rising up in his *howda*, approaches that of Runjeet, returns his *salam*, embraces him, and, taking him by the arm, and supporting his tottering frame, places him by his side on his own elephant. All this is managed amidst the roaring, trumpeting, pushing, and crushing of impetuous and gigantic animals, and then the one-eyed monarch having

cordially shaken hands with Sir Henry Fane, and every one of the two suites, whom he recognised (as the parties to receive his lordly greeting, leant over the railing of their lofty vehicles), the beast which bore the burden of the two rulers was, with difficulty, wheeled about in the crowd, and the whole of both *suwarrees* rushed tumultuously and *pêle-mêle* after it towards the entrance of the durbar tent. Woe to the rider whose elephant should, in this truly awful tumult, be brought to the ground by a false step, or the lateral pressure of his impatient neighbours; for such luckless individual there would be no escape from death under the feet of these terrible animals, excepting in the single mode of evasion, which can be attempted with any hope of success, viz., by climbing or scrambling as soon as the huge creature was felt to sink, without a moment's hesitation, and with the utmost activity, into the *howda* nearest to that of the party endangered, although the adjacent seat might happen to be that of the ruler of the Punjab himself. No such accident, however, actually occurred, though many seemed to be inevitable.

The next danger, and trial of alertness, is to leap from your elephant, descend the ladder, and make your way under the heads and trunks,

and near the threatening feet of a throng of other animals of the same caliber to the door of the audience-tent. Such was the crush on this occasion, and so violent the contest for priority of admission, that many of the attendant Sikhs either felt or feigned alarm for the safety of their chief, and, as if apprehending treachery (no novelty at such receptions in Indian history), began to blow their matches, and grasp their weapons with an air of mingled distrust and ferocity. At length a passage was cleared for all, and some graver matters of state having been discussed by the two rulers, assisted by their secretaries and sirdars, the usual forms of presents, and *pawn and uttar* succeeded. A strange incident closed the scene: In a retired part of the suite of tents were placed two very handsome, well-cast howitzers, intended as complimentary gifts to the Sikh ruler. These he came forth from the council tent, supported by Sir Henry Fane, to see. The light in the recesses of these spacious pavilions was glimmering and crepusculous, and the aged Maha Rajah, heedless of the shells, which were piled in pyramids below, was stepping up towards the muzzles of the guns, when his feet tripped amidst the spherical missiles, and in a moment he lay prostrate

on his face, and at full length upon the floor in front of the cannon. The kind and prompt exertions of Sir Henry replaced him instantaneously on his legs; but the spectacle of the lord of the Punjab extended in involuntary obeisance before the mouths of British artillery was regarded by the Sikhs as a picture of fearful omen.

The counter-visit of the governor-general introduced a display of a kind very different from the foregoing, but picturesque and interesting. The two British suites passed down from the tents at an early hour in the morning through the lofty jungle and reeds to the ford of the Gharra. The river was securely bridged, and the elephants did not hesitate, one after the other, to venture on the planks, which trembled beneath their ponderous pressure. On the right bank the lancers, as the *élite* of the British cavalry, were drawn up on either side, and beyond them, in extended and glittering line, helmeted and habited in long dresses of yellow, were seen the horsemen of the Punjab. As the governor-general approached the point of salutation, the Maha Rajah, in his turn, advanced on his elephant to meet him as the guest of this morning, and, as he received him into his *howda*, a startling and irregular rattle of

small artillery was heard from the *Zumbooruks*, or swivels, mounted on the back of camels, and fired by their drivers, who now lined the adjacent bank. The animals, on which these grotesquely-habited *Zumboorukchees* were mounted aloft, frightened at the noise of their own guns, moved wildly about at each discharge, and, in the midst of this deafening din, the *suwarrees*, Sikh and British, advanced through a street of the picked cavalry, or *ghorchurhas*, of the Maha Rajah, very wretchedly mounted, and of infantry, steadily drilled by the French officers, until they reached the lofty portal of a gay pavilion of crimson shawl-cloth.

The party entered, and after much squeezing and slowly making their way in the sun between alleys and parterres of shrubs and flowers, at length ascended a platform, and found itself under the shade of a rich canopy, where the Maha Rajah took his seat, with Lord Aukcland on his right, and Sir Henry Fane on his left; Runjeet's sirdas, and the British secretaries, generals and staff, being disposed around as resting-places could be found for them. Notwithstanding all the lofty pretensions to precise etiquette of Eastern durbars, "heaven's first law," order, is perpetually forgotten in their

ceremonies. Much conversation ensued between the rulers, which was carried on of course through the medium of an interpreter; and then followed the degrading scene of a crowd of dancing-girls and male buffoons introduced to amuse the illustrious visiters. In truth, the pastime seemed little to the taste of either of them, and when at length it was brought to a conclusion, the whole party made a circuit of the splendid tents erected behind the canopy, admired the silver camp-bed of the Maha Rajah, and praised, as well they might, the richness and beauty of the shawl-cloth pavilions. The light, which entered through their *kunats*, refracted by their crimson walls and roofs, gave to all the gold on the dresses of both nations the appearance of silver, turned all the scarlet into white, and displayed all countenances as overspread with a ghastly paleness.

II. There was an evening entertainment given on either bank, the amusements of which were similar. They consisted of fireworks on a scale of Eastern magnificence, the assemblage of all that was costly and splendid in either camp, and the exhibitions of the songstresses and dancers of the Punjab. The time will, it is to be hoped, come in India when national custom will be no longer pleaded as an excuse for the introduc-

tion, as on this occasion, of groups of choral and dancing prostitutes, for such these Kunchunees are known to be, into the presence of the ladies of the family of a British Governor-general, or those of individuals of a nation professing to fence its morals with the securities of decorum. The manners of Runjeet Singh were on these evenings peculiarly his own. He sat on his *musnud*, jesting familiarly with all who approached him, and pressing, almost forcing upon his illustrious guests on the right bank, and noble host and gallant friend of former days on the left margin of the river, potations from his own cup of the fiery beverage, which he himself quaffs with delight: a distilled spirit, which a Sikh alone can duly appreciate. The hardest drinker in the British camp could not with impunity indulge in its use for six successive nights; but Runjeet, as brutally pre-eminent amongst Punjabees in his vices, as he is unrivalled in astuteness in entrapping his enemies, or skill in organizing the means of overpowering them in the field, has made it his "pet tipple" some forty years. The effect of this debauchery has been to aggravate the symptoms of paralysis, under which this extraordinary man has suffered so long, and if not to impair his judgment or exacerbate his tem-

per, certainly to abridge the period of that rule, which the craft, dexterity, and boldness of his policy have rendered so magnificent. Kurruck Singh, the heir of this great ruler, the fraternal sirdars, Dhyan Singh, Goolab Singh, and Soochet Singh, the minion; Heera Singh, son of the elder brother of this trio; Kooshial Singh, commonly called the Jemadar; the Minister Uzceez-ood-deen, and Hindoo Rao, brother of the Byza Bhye, the ex-regent of Gwalior, took a part in these festivities, all brilliantly jewelled and superbly habited.

III. The tactics and warlike forces of both nations were displayed to the best advantage on two several days of martial exercise. It is to be remembered, however, that whilst the British had at Ferozepore a force brought together with the utmost diligence and care, to attempt the completion of a great enterprise, the flower of the Maha Rajah's forces were at this time watching his western frontier, or strengthening other important points of his dominions; so that the brigades, which the Sikhs had assembled on the right bank of the Gharra, could hardly be regarded as a sufficient specimen of their military means.

1. Sir Henry Fane commanded in chief in the

presence of the Maha Rajah, and of the Governor-general, the large British force not falling short of ten thousand men of all arms, which had been brought together for the invasion of Affghanistan. The Sikh potentate had to make his way, in order to gain a view of this spectacle, through a dense fog, to the tents, which had been temporarily pitched in the centre of the deployed army. The ground selected was to the northward of the camp of the 2nd division, and the sun has seldom risen in India on a more imposing force than was here drawn up to engage in the game of mimic warfare. A peculiar interest was likewise imparted to the scene, not only by the presence of the powerful ruler, with whose forces, or those of his successors, we might one day be brought into real and serious collision; but by the recollection that the manœuvres of the day were to be directed by a Commander-in-chief in India in person, a sight which no officer on the ground remembered before to have seen, and which had certainly not been exhibited for fifteen years at least. Probably, to a barbarian eye, the force appeared the more striking from the whole being disposed on a single line, with the exception of Brigadier Sale's or the 1st brigade,

which alone formed a reserve in the rear of the centre, flanked by two regiments of Brigadier Skinner's irregular horse.

The line itself was thus arrayed. On the extreme right were the 16th lancers, and on their left half a troop of horse artillery. With these on the sinister flank corresponded the 2nd and 3rd regiments of light cavalry (the two remaining corps of the brigade), and another half troop of horse artillery. Next toward the centre on the right were the 2nd and 3rd brigades of infantry, half of the camel battery being interposed between them, the other half separating in like manner on the left, the 4th and 5th brigades forming the 2nd division of infantry. The remaining troop of horse artillery was drawn up in the centre of the whole line between the divisions of infantry. After the salute, the Maha Rajah bore down on, rather than rode to, the centre, instead of the right of the line, accompanied by the governor-general and commander-in-chief, and fairly carried away by the spring-tide of his own uncontrolled, and uncontrollable *suwarree* of Sikh sirdars, *shootur suwars*, irregular horsemen, and miscellaneous escort on foot. Amidst neighing, snorting, and kicking steeds as plainly habited as on the days of the interviews, or evenings of the festivities,

he made his way at last to the right of the array, and thence proceeded along the front to the left, examining most minutely, and criticising freely every thing which he saw in his course. His was not a mere formal inspection, but the tour of observation of a man of acute perceptions, and inquisitive turn of mind. The novel equipment of the camel battery particularly attracted his attention. On the completion of his survey, by his accorded *ijazut* (leave granted) the manœuvres began, whilst the Maha Rajah placed himself at due distance in front of the centre with the governor-general and suite before a dense line of elephants and carriages, from which British spectators were gazing.

Let allowance be made for professional predilection if I seem to some to waste time in detailing the particulars of the exhibition of these efforts of mimic war, and pass less hastily over them than the narrative of pageants and feasts. The commander-in-chief had supposed a force to stand opposed to the real army, which the latter was to attack and overthrow. First then, in pursuance of this intention, the artillery and cavalry moved out of the general line one hundred paces to the front; and whilst the former slowly firing, concealed by a curtain of

smoke the whole army behind them, two dense masses of infantry were formed to break through the enemy's centre and dissever his force. These were composed of wings of battalions, which moved into close columns in open columns of sections, the brigades of the 1st division left, those of the second right in front. This ponderous double column was supported by the reserve in contiguous close columns of companies. When three or four wings of battalions of each division were in column, they commenced an advance at wheeling distance, and then regulating their movement by the central troop of horse artillery, which was made the pivot of the whole armament, each column halted, and that of the 1st division formed line to the right, and that of the 2nd to the left. The centre of the enemy's line of position was supposed to have been penetrated and forced by this advance, and the fire was now opened, which was to dissipate its vanquished battalions on either flank. Further to complete their defeat, the right wing of the British was to pursue its advantage, whilst the left was simply held in reserve, forming column and piling its arms.

Acting therefore upon this plan of operation, the 1st division now threw forward its right

one-eighth of a circle (as it is technically called), and again opened a fire to consummate the destruction of its imaginary foes; whilst the reserve having conformed in column to the great movement of infantry in mass, and afterwards deployed and formed line to support the ulterior efforts of its fraternal 2nd and 3rd brigades, now advanced beyond them, and skirmished with the retreating enemy, its right extending towards a high grass jungle, and its left reaching to the village of Hustakee, against which a crowning charge of irregular horse rendered animating by a loud and wild *hurrah* was directed. Under cover of the cloud of skirmishers composed of the whole of the 13th light infantry in extension, which the two native regiments of the brigade supported, battalions, regiments, troops, and batteries now broke into column, and regained their original line, and then in long and splendid array the whole force defiled in open column past the astonished and delighted Maha Rajah. The interview at Roopur, in 1831, had made him acquainted with our tactics, and the bearing and personal appearance of our European soldiery; but the grand scale of the present display, combined with the quality and training of the troops, was well calculated to astonish even

one so well accustomed as the ruler of the Sikhs to see large masses of armed men assembled; and the admiration, which he profusely expressed, probably was unfeigned, and the lesson read to him of the enduring character of our power as based upon the extent and value of our military means, may not have been without its use in drawing closer round his heart those bonds of self-interest, which kept him our consistent ally as long as life was spared to him.

2. The Potzdam parade of the Maha Rajah, was a different kind of show from that which has just been described, but exceedingly interesting in its way. Runjeet did not command in person, and Sir Henry Fane and his suite (the governor-general was not present) passed on elephants along the Sikh line, which was retired behind the patchwork tents of his troops about two miles from the right bank of the river. He displayed seven battalions of regular infantry, and four regiments of cavalry, with as many troops of horse artillery in the intervals between brigades and half-brigades. His foot were formed three deep, and manœuvred as instructed by their French officers, carrying their arms with a bent elbow, and beating distinctly with the foot the slower time of their shorter-paced quick march, as might have been seen at

a review in the *Champ-de-Mars*, whilst their bands, and drums and fifes assembled in the centre of battalions, guided and gave animation to each change of position. From the commencement of the manœuvres, the *brigade d'élite*, which was distinguished by wearing white trousers, was thrown into second line, and supported every evolution of the first; and if criticism could point out that the whole force, compared with the European standard, was indifferently equipped, the cavalry poorly mounted, and the artillery ill harnessed, that the battalion squares of brigades were all formed on the same base line, thus risking the pouring a fire into each other, and that the infantry were deficient in the celerity and freedom of pace, which is to be observed in our troops; on the other hand it could not be denied that here was a considerable force, which proved its practical acquaintance with the general principles of tactical combination, which had moved and formed in various directions readily, steadily, without confusion, and without hesitation; that the officers of the artillery, cavalry, and infantry, had alike demonstrated their correct conception of the uses of their respective arms, which had manœuvred correlatively for the support of each other; and that there was on this, as well as on the other bank of the Gharra, not

merely the infancy of military knowledge, but its vigorous manhood.

OBSERVATION.

The evening festivities of both camps at Ferozepore had proved how difficult it is to effect any thing like a happy amalgamation between European and Asiatic manners. It was the policy of the hour to humour and caress the old ruler of the Punjaub, who with all his faults was now to be regarded as a valuable ally; and, since he had come from his capital down to the Gharra to meet us, might in some sort be reckoned, either on one bank or the other, as a visiter. But it was impossible not to feel that this complaisance was carried a little too far, when he was exhibited in the character of a Bacchus or Silenus urging others to take part in his orgies, in the presence of an assemblage of English gentlewomen, and when their notions of decency were further outraged by the introduction, to whatever extent sanctioned by culpable usage in other parts of India, of bands of singing and dancing courtesans.

CHAPTER III.

Army advances from Ferozepore—Shah Shoojah's contingent reviewed at Mendote—Moves in the van—Diplomatic agents with the army—Negotiation of Sir Alexander Burnes—March to Bhawulpore—Health of the force, and abundant supplies—Bawul Khan's conference with Sir Henry Fane—Affairs of Lower Sinde—Negotiations with Meer Roostam—The Sindians led out to a cavalry review by Sir Henry Fane—The fortress of Bukkur peaceably surrendered—Observations.

More serious avocations than fields, and camps of exercise, now demanded the exertions of the army of the Indus, and the allies of its government. The governor-general took his departure for Lahore preceded by Runjeet, who was there to play in his usual style of splendour the part of his lordship's host. The commander-in-chief caused it to be notified to the force that he had ceased to be its leader, that one of the divisions of infantry would halt and observe

the Sutlege, and that the amount of the ordnance with the armament would be diminished; the siege train and park, the camel battery, and one troop of horse artillery moving forward towards Affghanistan under an officer of inferior rank, instead of the gallant and experienced Brigadier Graham, who was to remain with the residue of the army near Ferozepore. Subsequently the brigade of irregular horse was broken up, the present services in the field of Brigadier Skinner dispensed with, and the 4th local horse, and a detachment only of the 1st sent onwards to perform the important and harassing duties which are required from that branch of the service. It was likewise arranged that Sir Willoughby Cotton should conduct the whole of the Bengal contingent to the point of junction with that from Bombay, where the command-in-chief of both would devolve upon Sir John Keane, General Nott taking temporary charge of the 1st division, and Colonel Dennie, of her majesty's 13th light infantry, with the rank of brigadier, assuming for a like period that of the 2nd brigade. Sir Henry Fane now too as commander-in-chief in India, but no longer of the army which had been brought together under his able and zealous superintendence, prepared to embark with his suite in

boats on the Indus, thence to proceed on a line parallel with that of the force to Bukkur, and onwards to Bombay, should the lower portion of the mighty stream be found free from hostile obstruction, and eventually to his native land.

The five regiments of infantry, and two of cavalry, which formed the levy of Shah Shooja, and to which a native troop of the Bengal horse artillery, under Captain Timings, had been attached, until the organization of his own force of the same kind should be complete, had meanwhile marched from Loodiana, and passing through Ferozepore without halting, had been reviewed at Mendote, two short marches in advance, by the British envoy and minister. This little army forming, in accordance with the declaration, the vanguard of the invading armament, escorted onwards its master towards the land which it hoped soon to see once more subjected to his rule. It was already some marches on the route to Bhawulpore, under the command of Major-general Simpson, and accompanied by Major Todd, before the British broke up from their encampment near the Gharra. The means of keeping up a becoming degree of state had been supplied to Shah Shooja by the government of India, in the shape of a monthly stipend of twenty-five

thousand rupees, which was to be increased to fifty thousand as soon as he crossed the Indus. This was a splendid augmentation present and prospective of the allowance of four thousand rupees paid from the same treasury, on which he had supported himself, and his progeny of fourteen sons and nineteen daughters, and their mothers, one of them a sister of the Ameer of Cabul, when in the days of his hopeless adversity, he had resided near his blinded and deposed brother at Loodiana.

No concealment was any longer affected, as there had long been no real secrecy regarding the direction of the march of purposed restoration. Sir Henry Fane, previously to quitting Ferozepore, issued the orders which formed the basis of the instructions for the advance in support of the exiled monarch. The sappers and miners, and engineer department, were to precede the leading column by never fewer than two marches, improving the line of road as they moved on. Then was to follow the brigade of cavalry; and one after the other, on successive days, the 1st, 2nd, and 4th brigades of infantry (the last mentioned had now found a place in the 1st division instead of the 3rd), and the siege-train and park. A Rissalah of irregular horse was attached to each of these

columns, excepting that of Brigadier Arnold's cavalry, with which Sir Willoughby Cotton's head-quarters moved. The only remaining troop of horse-artillery was conjoined to the same brigade, the camel battery having been attached to Brigadier Sale's, or the 1st of infantry. Major Pew, now commandant of the arm, accompanied the siege-train and park.

On the 10th of December the leading column debouched as far as the town and castle of Mendote, in the direct route to the Bhawulpore territories. Through these the Bengal force was to make its way, hoping to find in the Nuwab Bhawul Khan a warm friend and faithful ally. Thus skirting the left bank of the Gharra, and keeping up a communication with the river, it was to enter the Sindian dominions of the Khyrpore Ameer, by passing his northern frontier near Subzulkote, and march towards the fort of Bukkur. In aid of its operations it was to depend on the intervention first of Mr. Greathead, assistant to the political agent in the Sikh-protected states; next, on those of Doctor Gordon, employed on a mission in Mooltan; then on the efforts of Lieutenant Mackeson, the British agent for the extension of commerce on the Indus, who, with a view to our relations with Affghanistan, having tem-

porarily left Mithenkot, the seat of his fiscal intendancy, had for some time been residing at the court of Bhawul Khan and in its vicinity; and lastly, on the diplomatic exertions of Sir Alexander Burnes, who had preceded the army from Simla, charged with the important task of obtaining possession, by negotiation, from the Khyrpore Ameer of Bukkur,—in other words, of the command of the middle Indus, a fortress in the centre of Upper Sinde, and an impregnable place of arms preparatory to an advance on Shikarpore. Whilst Shah Shooja, therefore, was bending his steps towards the latter city, the Bengal army was in fact steadily manœuvring on Bukkur, the true point of junction between it and the contingent from Bombay. Sir Henry Fane having bid farewell to the forces of the Bengal and Agra presidencies in a general order, embarked on the 17th of December on board of one of the boats prepared for him and a limited portion of his suite. He had, indeed, ceased to command the army of the Indus; but, as commander-in-chief in India, might be supposed to take a lively interest in its fate, and be expected to seize every opportunity of ascertaining its progress and welfare by actual inspection.

It will be seen that on Colonel Sir Alexander

Burnes, less honoured even by his newly-acquired and well-earned titles than by those of topographer of the Indus and explorer of Central Asia, a trust of the most delicate and important nature had devolved. He was to strive to detach from the national and domestic league which the Ameers of Sinde were ascertained to have formed against us, that Meer Roostum, into whose territories we were meditating an irruption, and to obtain from him by force of persuasion no less a cession than that of the Gibraltar of the Indus, the key of his own dominions, and a supporting point for our columns, when they might prepare to penetrate to the foot of the Brahoick range of mountains. The difficulty of this attempt can only be appreciated, when, in addition to the jealous hatred of foreign interference, which is a trait of family character of the Talpoor dynasty, proper regard be had to the nature of our former negotiations with them, and when it is recorded, not without a sentiment of national shame and humiliation, that our dealings with them had been on one point scarcely correct or equitable.

When, in April, 1832, a treaty had been signed, which was to give us the right of navigating the Indus on more favourable terms

than we had for years ventured to expect, a special reservation had been made in Conditions 1 and 2 of Article III., against the introduction in any vessel of troops or munitions of war in any shape. But when the aspect of affairs in the direction of Affghanistan had rendered a change in these provisions desirable, the British government at a period antecedent to the detection of the indiscreet and hostile correspondence of the Ameers with Persia, had caused it to be notified to them with the cool and domineering air of effrontery which the strong venture to assume in their intercourse with the weak, that they must be prepared to reckon upon this portion of the compact being considered null and void, and in its very nature inadmissible. "*Malheur à ceux qui ne respectent pas des traités,*" said Napoleon, when Malta was withheld from his grasp in 1803, an exclamation which might justly have been echoed by the Ameers of Hydrabad, of Meerpore, and Khyrpore, upon this expression of calm contempt, on the part of the British, of subsisting engagements being communicated to them in 1838. To ask for Bukkur after this announcement of our views and intentions, and to persist in the request after the negotiations of Colonel Pottinger had already made the Talpoor

princes aware of our intention of forcing upon them stipulations yet more galling to their feelings, was to tell them that their days of independence were numbered, and that Sinde was shortly either to be reduced to the condition of a British province, or, in spite of every disclaimer, to become an actual as well as nominal dependency of the kingdom of Cabul, as might best suit the views of the power in whose hands it seemed that Providence had placed the destinies of India. The only argument which could be relied on to produce compliance with such a demand, was the simultaneous advance of two armies towards the northern and southern limits of Sinde.

Imperfectly informed of these combinations, the Bengal force, leaving one division in observation on the Gharra, moved on towards the capital of the Daoodpootra state. The weather was very cold, but the air clear and healthful, the roads good, the country open, the river contiguous, and at every stage abundant supplies of wheat, grain, grass, and firewood were found in depot ready for consumption. These were the halcyon days of the movements of this force. As it proceeded slowly towards the capital city of the Nawab Bhawul Khan, it knew but one sorrow or care, viz., the vexatious

desertion of its followers, who carried off with them the hired camels, and left their masters comfortless, and without means of transport. The spasm of alarm had quickly seized the hearts of the timid tribe of Hindoostanee servants, when they found that they were leaving their own provinces behind, and entering on untried regions, and might soon expect to have a river on their right, a desert on the left, before them a hostile nation, and around them strangers whom they know not how to trust. The Sikh *surwans*, who were forward in the supervening desertion, absconded on a different principle. They considered themselves the victims of feudal tyranny. They argued that the British had influenced their rulers cruelly and unjustly, to compel them to leave their homes, and engage in a distasteful service, and that as they owed these self-constituted masters of their rightful lords no allegiance, they felt themselves at liberty to leave them, whenever opportunities might offer. They were insolent and untutored fellows, only a loss under circumstances in which no other camels and no better followers could be procured. But all felt that in such countries as those in which we were about to penetrate, no description of men or animals could well be spared. Morning

after morning fresh desertions were reported, and scarcely had the army completed six marches, when the loss of private baggage, and the unavoidable abandonment of the bedding and camp equipage of the soldiers had amounted to a serious evil. The most vigilant patroling of parties of irregular horse did not materially check this defection. The increasing propinquity of the desert rendered evasion hourly easier.

Of one other grievance this otherwise happy force even at this period complained, viz., of the injurious effect produced on the health and strength of their baggage animals by their unavoidably feeding on the *jhaoo*,* or tamarisk bush, low forests of which overspread the portions of the territories of Bhawul Khan which we traversed. The *juwasa*,† which, from April to September, is excellent food for camels, was here indeed abundant; but it is in December dry and unpalatable, and utterly void of nutriment. It soon appeared that government had

* Hedysarum alhajee, called by the Persians خارِ شتر *Khari shootur* or camel thorn.

† Tamaric indica, in Persian شورہ گز *Shoru gus*, salt marsh tamarisk. This kind of jungle is scarcely less common on the banks of the Ganges than those of the Indus; but in Hindoostan it does not extend so far inland.

rightly appreciated the present disposition of Bhawul Khan. In every transaction he fulfilled the duties of a sincere and constant ally. Not only did the force day after day move on without molestation, but the supplies collected long before were found in the towns and villages piled up for use as the agents of the commissariat had left them. A full share of these valuable articles and occasionally a little more had indeed been consumed by the troops of Shah Shooja, who had preceded us, and some symptoms of agitation and distrust in the minds of the peasantry might be traced to the defects in the discipline of these newly-raised corps; but, on the whole, our progress was through the midst of a people eminently pacific, our wants were admirably supplied, the health of the troops was excellent, and their prospects were cheering. The face of the country, indeed, presented no attractions. Marching day after day a full hour and a half before the dawn, we traversed for a few hours, first by torch and star light, and then under the powerless sun of December, sandy roads, the line of which was distant from four to ten miles from the great river, and commonly parallel to it, and finally encamped on plains overspread with the *jhaoo*, or tamarisk, the *jin*, a thorny bush, of which I

have not ascertained the botanical name, the wild caper, and the dried plant *juwasa*. From the outset our communications with our own provinces were uncertain, and our stock of actual intelligence being thus restricted, we had few topics of discussion left, but conjectures as to our future progress and success, and lamentations over the want of principle in our *surwans* and other followers. We had up to this time no intelligence of any thing in our front excepting the column of General Simpson, which continued five or six marches in advance of us.

I may mention that at Ferozepore my functions as postmaster of a division had, as well as those of three other officers, whose appointments were of a like temporary nature, merged in the general duties of a superintendent of the communications of the whole Bengal force. This was the simple fact, but some of the Indian journals, adverting to the circumstance of the appointment of Major Sage to the office of postmaster to our contingent, chose to assert, although the general orders contradicted them, that I had been removed from that situation, and congratulated the army on the substitution of an officer of acknowledged talents and assiduity. In praise of the ability and diligence actually evinced by my friend, whose name was

thus placed in unfair juxtaposition with my own, no one can join more sincerely and cordially than myself. But the truth is, as I have intimated, that the comparison might have been spared, since the only office in the department which I ever held was that of postmaster to a division alone on the march from the Jumna to the Sutlege. In the discharge of the duties of that shortlived employment, it is sufficient for me to have been honoured with the approbation of the general, on whose recommendation I received the appointment; but I take occasion, whilst rectifying an error which concerned me personally, to notice the delay and uncertainty of the dawk communications of our army from the period of its breaking up from Ferozepore to that of its reaching Cabul. This unceasing cause of complaint and chagrin is remembered by all. The obstruction was injurious to the interests of government, and harassing to the feelings of individuals. To our postmaster it was in no way to be attributed, since the minor arrangements of his *bureau* were alone in his hands, and these were excellent. The care of establishing the post and means of communication rested upon the several officers politically employed. They also displayed much intelligence; but all the

efforts of their skill and industry appear to have been baffled by the carelessness of inferior agents, and the predatory character of the people of the provinces, through which our vastly extended line of communication ran.

For my own part, though confined at this time to the duties of my situation on the personal staff of the commander of so large a force, I had little cause to repine at want of occupation; whilst, having access to sources of information not generally open, I had the advantage and satisfaction of viewing the scene which was gradually discovered before us, with the interest of one to whom it was permitted to understand the causes and objects of events and enterprises. By means of the *shootur suwars* attached to our column, our interchange of communication with the camp of the governor-general in the Punjab, with the commander-in-chief on the great river, and with General Simpson's force, was, during the whole of our march to the Indus at Bukkur, constant and rapid, and the importance of the matters under discussion, or in course of arrangement, was sufficient to awaken attention, dissipate listlessness, and prevent that stagnation of ideas which is commonly consequent on the monotony of route marching in India. Yet it

must be confessed that our advance to Bhawulpore was varied by few incidents. Throughout, the weather was cold and fine, the troops were healthy, and, if occasionally there might be some slight deficiency in the quantity, or deterioration in the quality of any one supply, it was only of such a nature as might be hailed as affording a topic of conversation, where the dearth of intelligence was already so great. I have noted, for instance, that about this time we were often compelled to feed our horses upon *jooara* (*holcus sorgum*), an inferior grain, instead of the gram, *chuna* (*cicer arictinum*), which is the ordinary and more nutritious ration of chargers in Hindoostan; but, though the meritorious vigilance which was observed in guarding our camps throughout the service, rendered the outpost duty even now severe, neither officer nor private soldier endured any thing at this time which effeminacy or disaffection could have ventured to characterize as a hardship or privation, and subsequent events have since taught, as I have already intimated, our youngest and most inexperienced warriors to look back upon these as the prosperous and easy days of the force.

Once only Sir Henry Fane was enabled to land from his boats and make an inspection of

our columns and camps; but he was kept constantly informed of every thing which regarded our progress and welfare. The country was, in the strongest sense of the word, uninteresting. We moved on with few halts, day after day experiencing an intense degree of cold, until the sun had risen some hours above the horizon; but, whilst we continued to track our way through the territories of our well-disposed ally, the Gharra on our right, and the great western desert on our left, there was nothing to distinguish one day from another in the mind of each individual, but the evasion and disappearance of his own or his comrade's *surwans* and camels, and the efforts necessary to replace them. As we approached Bhawulpore, we exchanged the tamarisk jungles for the hillocks of sand, and clumps of date-trees, which peculiarly belong to the vast tract of sterility, which may be regarded as a second line of defence to Western India, the Indus being the first. By its flats we were beginning to be more closely shut in, when we at length received despatches from Sir Alexander Burnes. These gave us cause to apprehend that deficiency of boats, timber, and other materials would render it impossible, or most difficult, to establish a bridge across the Indus. He likewise

signified that his negotiations with Meer Roostum had reached a point at which he was compelled to entertain serious doubts of being enabled to obtain, by fair means, the cession of Fort Bukkur; "in which case," added our ever undaunted negotiator, with soldierlike coolness and Spartan brevity, "you must attack and take it, that is all." Well knowing its occupation to be indispensable, with a view to the safety of our ulterior operations, we moved on, our spirits mounting higher in the thought that this dry announcement of an undeniable alternative would turn out to be prophetic.

As this is professedly a personal narrative, I feel at liberty to record, that towards the latter end of December, as the army was approaching Bhawulpore, I experienced two slight paroxysms of intermittent fever, the only attack of the kind from which I had ever suffered in India. There was nothing in surrounding localities to cause such an affection, and I therefore attributed it partly to rather prolonged exposure on one occasion to the rays of the sun; and partly to having, at the suggestion of friends, modified, since the army had taken the field, the habits, which they deemed too austere for the fatigues of active service, and consented to drink a few glasses of wine daily, instead of restricting my-

self as I had done for many months to pure water. The fever was speedily checked; and on the disappearance of its symptoms under skilful treatment, I resolved henceforth to legislate for myself in dietetics, and resuming my former system, abjured entirely the use of wine, as well as of all stronger potations. A single example does not prove a rule; but my own experience as well as that of not a few others in the Bengal contingent certainly goes to establish the fact, that water-drinking is the best regimen for a soldier. I was after this period no stranger to personal fatigue, and rode not seldom long distances in a heated atmosphere, and was exposed like others between Bhawulpore and Peshawur to extreme vicissitudes of weather; but from the time that the pure element became once more my only drink, I enjoyed a total exemption from the evils of any serious ailment.

Sir Henry Fane and his suite reached Bhawulpore the capital of the Daoopootra states, in their boats, on the 27th December, and the army arrived on the same day. The English usually honour Bawul Khan the ruler of this territory with the title of Nuwab, though that of Khan is considered by those well versed in Asiatic etiquette and politics to be his more

correct designation. As we approached his principal city, he sent out his eldest son to meet Sir Willoughby Cotton, and welcome him into his dominions. The Khanzada, who was rather a comely youth, rode in a rude chariot protected from the sun by a canopy of cloth, and was surrounded by a party of perhaps one hundred and fifty horsemen of rather sorry appearance. The general's escort came up with his *suwarree* about three miles from Bhawulpore, under the first rain which had fallen since we left Ferozepore. The boy presented, with many expressions of respect and consideration, a *nuzzur* of four hundred and ninty-nine rupees. Odd numbers are esteemed auspicious by Mahomedans. When the ceremonial of this interview was concluded, our camp was formed under the mud walls of the city. A single glance assured us that our soldiers could easily have prostrated these bulwarks with the butts of their muskets. The next day was fixed for the reception of the Khan in grand durbar by Sir Henry Fane.

Disgusted with the character of most of the petty rulers of India, the mind rests with something like complacency on that of the Nuwab Bhawul Khan. He was in former days a mighty hunter; but now, if his pursuits are not highly intellectual, they are at least pacific, harmless,

and rational. Mechanics are his chief delight, and watchmaking is the particular branch of useful industry which he most liberally patronizes. A very favourable report is made of the skill of the artist who at present stands highest in the favour of the khan. On the morning of the 30th December the Daoopootra ruler repaired to the durbar tent of the commander-in-chief, followed by a modest but respectable *suwarree*. His complexion is remarkably dark, but his lineaments and countenance are expressive of good sense and moderate sentiments, and his followers seemed to have adopted from him a decent sobriety of manner. Sir Henry Fane advanced to the margin of the carpet to meet him, embraced, and seated him on his right hand. The Persian interpreter saluted him with the usual phrase, "Khoosh amudu eed;" "You are welcome;" and then by means of the further expounding of Lieutenant Mackeson, the conference proceeded in Hindoostanee. Sir Henry praised the khan's fidelity to the British government, his honourable fulfilment of all his engagements, and his hospitable reception of the army in his dominions, and assured him of the favour and protection of our nation, so long as such principles guided his counsels, bespeaking his further

good offices in behalf of the columns still advancing. The replies of the khan were at once guarded and courteous, and delivered with the air of a man desirous of simultaneously impressing us with a sense of his power to do us evil, and his intention to treat us well. He good-humouredly underrated his past assistance, and made only very general promises for the future; but his bearing throughout the interview was friendly, and expressed more strongly than his words his amicable disposition. The presents consisting of articles of British manufacture were next laid before him. With these he appeared generally gratified, but was evidently most delighted with a brace of pistols with spring bayonets, one of which he took up, and after minutely examining its workmanship with the eye of an amateur, placed it with an air of much satisfaction in his girdle.

The return visit was paid the next day at the khan's mansion in the city. It was with no small difficulty that the staff and escort made their way through the narrow and filthy streets of the Daoodpootra capital up to a low dwelling in a confined courtyard, where those who, like myself, had been delayed a little in pressing through the throng at the gate, found Sir Henry Fane and his officers already seated with the

Nuwab, his ministers, and sirdars, on a kind of canopied platform. The Daoodpootra was exhibited to more advantage under his own roof than in our camp. Indeed it is to be generally remarked that Asiatic rulers wear an air of painful restraint, not unmixed with apprehension, when they appear as the visiters of European persons of distinction. Bhawul Khan in the centre of his own city seemed to be less cramped by forms of etiquette, than he had been in the Durbar beyond its walls; his manner became kinder, and he was social, and even inclined to be garrulous. The conference did not much differ, however, in substance from that of the preceding day, excepting that the colloquy digressed for a short time to the sports of the field, when the Khan pointed out two of his warriors, who had often encountered and killed tigers in single combat with no other weapon than the sword. He added, however, that he had of late years entirely interdicted such hazardous conflicts, as he did not wish, for the sake of a vainglorious boast, to endanger the lives of his subjects. On the trays of presents, a graduated proportion of which were appropriated to Sir Willoughby Cotton, and of course a larger to Sir Henry Fane, were some good specimens of the cloths called "loongee" and

"khes," productions of Mooltan and the Bhawulpore states. A strong and active but not very shapely horse was given to each of the generals, and to the junior a handsome hawk. Some regiments of the Daoodpootra infantry, sipahees not much inferior in appearance to the Seikh troops of the same arm, were drawn up in the courtyard and adjacent streets, and their noisy drums deafened us with their dissonant uproar as we left the palace, and riding forth once more among the date-trees of the suburbs, returned to our camp to be present at the investiture of several native officers of our army with the insignia of the new order of British India.

The force was put in motion, in the same order as before, on the morning of the 1st January, 1839. During the preceding night a despatch from Sir Alexander Burnes to Sir Willoughby Cotton had informed him of the important fact of the Ameer of Khyrpoor, after protracted dallying, having attached his seal to a treaty by which the fortress of Bukkur was given up to the British to be held as long as the character of our external relations to the westward should render such a measure necessary for the general security. We communicated, as we marched on, this intelligence to Sir

Henry Fane, who had returned on board of his budgerow. We felt now that the passage of the Indus was secured to us, and that one great object of our armed interposition had been effected without a blow. We hastened on to take advantage of this favourable crisis. No extraordinary incident marked our more rapid advance through the cities of Ahmedpore and Khanpoor; the former only remarkable for a few handsome mosques with lofty white minarets, and the latter for a picturesque gateway. Around these principal towns, as in the vicinity of the capital, the jungle had been more diligently cleared away, and cultivation carried to a higher point than in other parts of the Khan's territory. Supplies continued plentiful, and the disposition and conduct of the authorities of the country most friendly. Mqosa Khan, the governor of Khanpoor, accompanied our route many marches, gave us valuable aid in procuring grain, and means of transport, and left us at length the happiest of provincial khans, when complimented with a *loongee*, a brace of pistols, and a *nuzzur* of ninety-nine rupees. At the town, over which he exercised authority, we had obtained on the requisition of Lieutenant Mackeson a considerable reinforcement of camels at moderate prices, which, combined

with those procured at Bhawulpoor through the same intervention, put once more upon a tolerably respectable footing the diminished carriage of the army. Mithenkot, the Allahabad of the Indus, had been well chosen as the place, in which the British agent for the extension of commerce on the great stream, should ordinarily discharge his functions; but as it is extremely unhealthy at the season of the inundations, Lieutenant Mackeson had built himself a respectable dwelling in the neighbourhood of Ahmedpoor, where he used to reside when driven from the river-bank by the *malaria*. A good canal has been cut in the vicinity of Khanpoor, by which commodities are transported to and from the great river below the point where the Gharra has yielded up its waters.

It was not without some feeling of regret, that between Surwaee and Sukzulkote we crossed the boundary line of our good friend Bhawul Khan, and entered the territories of the Khyrpore Ameer. Here we were met by Sir Alexander Burnes who, concealing nothing, warned us to expect from the crafty Sindians empty promises only instead of the cordial assistance, for which we had hitherto felt grateful. We pressed on as rapidly as the condition

of our camels, growing weaker daily from the pernicious influence of their tamarisk diet, would permit. We were anxious to secure as soon as possible both banks of the great river, and take possession of the fortress, which would give us the command of them, and in addition to these objects a new enterprise began here to demand the exertion of our energies.

Sir John Keane had reached the mouth of the Hujamree branch of the Indus in the last week of December. He landed at Vikkur, and marched, after an unwilling pause, to Tatta, whence under date the 28th, a despatch, the first direct communication between the two contingents, was, after a perplexing silence, received from him. It disclosed to us his real situation in lower Sinde. All the disadvantages of a maritime expedition into an unfriendly land, this portion of our army had been destined acutely to feel. It had come unprovided with camels or means of transport of any kind excepting boats, and the Sindians had evidently resolved from the first that no carriage animals should be procured through their instrumentality. Thus a fine force of all arms, in the most superb order, was kept in a state of inactivity. These crafty barbarians promised indeed

to comply with all requisitions, but the threats of the military commander, and the representations of Colonel Pottinger, the able and experienced negotiator, were alike ineffectual to obtain the fulfilment of any of their engagements. A system of studied opposition was begun and persevered in, and the Ameers secretly smiled at the success of their policy, when day after day passed away, and the British head-quarters yet remained at Tatta. There indeed they might have been fixed to this day had not a most opportune and welcome supply of camels been received from the Rao of Cutch, a sensible and sincere ally, who, like the Nuwab of Bhawulpore, chose at this conjuncture the wiser and better part, of firmly adhering to the predominating power in India. The Ameers of Hydrabad had in the mean time assembled for the defence of their capital a force amounting to not fewer than 25,000 men, chiefly mercenary Belooches, and the ruler of Meerpore, had been called upon to furnish his contingent for the national defence. Now, therefore, before the Bengal army could think of prosecuting its advance towards the frontier of Affghanistan, it became necessary to secure its communications with the forces of the other Presidency, and to act in concert with them for the subjugation of

the Delta of the Indus. We learnt at the same time from Sir Alexander Burnes that the Khan of Kelat had become insolent and menacing; a fact afterwards explained by the discovery of an offer made to him by the chiefs of Candahar of a portion of the bribe given to them by Russia; and his knowledge of the success of the policy of his secret allies, the Ameers of Hydrabad. The influence of Colonel Stoddart and Lieutenant Pottinger at Herat, too, had now been endangered by some premature, though humane, acts of interference with the authorities of the place; and a storm of resistance seemed to be brewing which it would require no small exertion of skill and energy to weather. Nothing discouraged by these events, the Bengal force moved on towards Roree, the Sindian town on the left bank of the Indus opposite Bukkur, and reaching Maloodie on the 21st of January, had there the satisfaction of being informed that Shah Shooja with his whole force had boldly and safely completed in six days and a half the passage of the Indus at Goth Amil, and having established himself on its right bank, proposed to move, on the morning on which the communication was received, to within one march of Shikarpore. Great credit was evidently due to the staff offi-

cers of his contingent and to his force itself for the style in which so difficult an operation had been completed with the aid of only six-and-thirty boats.

Sir Henry Fane, meanwhile, moving with his little flotilla parallel to the column of Sir Willoughby Cotton, had reached the point where the spirited passage recorded above had been successfully attempted by the Shah; and the weight of his counsel was added to those reflections, which pointed to the necessity of an immediate interference in the affairs of Sinde. Sir Willoughby Cotton passed down in his excellency's boat from Goth Amil to Roree, which he reached almost at the same moment with the head of his own leading column.

Here a spectacle awaited the troops, which the young and enthusiastic might deem fully to repay them for all the fatigues of their precedent marches. A noble river of little less than one thousand yards in breadth is the Indus at Goth Amil; but here, where its stream is impeded by the rocky island of Bukkur, it expands into a wide bay to embrace and pass the obstacle, the resistance of which to its waters *seems* only to add fury to their natural impetuosity. On either bank are here seen two large groves of date-trees clothing for a certain

distance the hills of limestone rock, which stretch out like two huge arms, the one towards Cutch Gundava, the other into the territories of Meer Roostum. These wood-crowned heights, though not lofty, present a striking contrast to the level plain around them, green only with corn and tamarisk-bushes. The town of Roree is wholly built of sunburnt bricks; but raised on limestone crags in the bend of the little gulf, it lays claim to a wild kind of beauty; whilst on the same bank a magnificent pile of rocks of the same formation, surmounted by the painted and glittering spires of a Zyarut gah, and insulated, when the river is swollen, arrests the admiration of the spectator. Thence his gaze is at length withdrawn to the fort of Bukkur, and the view into the expanded reach of the Indus below it. The sandy islet on which the stronghold is built, would be washed over by the river, but that from this low basis, suddenly arises a singular superstructure of hard limestone, in which little masses of agate flint are thickly and deeply bedded. The isle is in length eight hundred yards, and in breadth varies from one hundred and fifty to one hundred. The whole area is covered by the *enceinte* and buildings of the fortress, which reach down to the water's edge. This intervening land di-

vides the river into two channels, the northern of which does not exceed ninety yards, whilst the southern branch spreads with a whirling course towards the town of Roree to the width of four hundred and fifty. The smaller arm had already been securely bridged by nineteen boats lashed together, and the engineers were labouring incessantly in connecting seventy-five more to restrain and subdue the waters of the main stream. Bukkur consists of a brick wall of about thirty feet in height battlemented, and divided into curtains, and semicircular towers and bastions. A lower wall, *rownee* or *fausse braye*, prevents a considerable part of the base of this circumference from being seen; but the brick structure is every where mouldering into decay, and was at this time armed with only three guns, which were mounted *en barbette*. The balconied residence of the Killadar was seen over the principal gate, and high Sindian caps appearing above the parapet, assured us that Bukkur was still held in the name of the Ameer. We knew, however, that his garrison was not very formidable, as it had, three days before, been increased from twelve men to two hundred only. The landscape on the Indus, as viewed from our camp, was completed on the right by the heights of Sukkur, a ruinous, but once ex-

tensive town on the right bank, in which tot tering mosque, minaret, and Eedgah, yet glittering with purple and gilding, tell of the faded magnificence of Mahomedan rule.

But between the main island and the Roree bank have been thrown up by the stream two other islets. One of these, which is at the eastern extremity of Fort Bukkur, and bears the name of Khaja Khizzur, is covered with tombs. A relic is enshrined within the largest of them, which, if genuine, ought surely to be venerable in the eyes of the people of Islam, being no other than the beard which fringed the sacred chin of Mahomed himself. Sir Willoughby Cotton afterwards presented a handsome *nuzzur* to the Mootuwullee, or superintendent of this monument, in which act of munificence Sir Henry Fane had set him the example.

On our arrival at Roree we found Sir Alexander Burnes still busily employed in negotiating with Meer Roostum's ministers, who were encamped about three miles off their master. He was surrounded by a considerable force, and accompanied by his brother Ameers. Our envoy had left Sir Willoughby Cotton's camp in the middle of January, and preceded it to Bukkur, in order to quiet the apprehensions

which the Khyrpore Ameer professed to feel on the subject of our establishing a bridge over the Indus. This fortress he had temporarily given up to us by treaty, but as this convention had not yet been ratified by the governor-general, he wished that we should defer acting upon it in any way until it should return with his lordship's signature attached to it. As it was important, however, that no delay should take place in establishing the bridge, and at the same time desirable to avoid any ebullition of barbarian impatience at Roree, Sir Alexander deemed it to be best to administer the sedative of his personal assurances until the despatches might arrive from Lord Auckland at Lahore. We found that he had been successful in keeping things quiet till the army came up.

Sir Willoughby Cotton's camp was pitched on a *plateau* of sand, near the margin of the river, directly opposite to Khaju Khizzur. Here his flag was displayed, and immediately below waved on the waters of the Indus that of Sir Henry Fane, whose flotilla of eight large boats, led by his own handsome budgerow, the Avenel, was moored to the bank. It was from the mound above that the most pleasing view could be obtained of Bukkur, Roree, and Suk-

kur, the Indus, and the adjacent groves; and hardly in the world could a spectacle more magnificent be found than the Zyarut gah, and the fort and islands, and the watery vista beyond, when the sun sunk into the waves of the extensive reach of the great river. On the day after our arrival, Sir Henry gave audience in Sir Willoughby Cotton's tent, his own not having yet been landed, to two relatives of the ruling Ameer and his prime minister. Arrangements were made at this conference for the more important visit which Meer Roostum himself had been persuaded to consent to pay to his Excellency. Hopes were held out to the Sindians that intelligence would arrive from Lord Auckland's camp before this conference could take place, and that the tenour of the next news would be the complete re-establishment of the best understanding between the British and this branch of the Talpoor family. Sir A. Burnes acted as interpreter, and conducted the negotiation and ceremonial, and displayed admirable tact in the happy manner and choice of phrases, by which he contrived to inspire with confidence in his own government, and to set at their ease in the presence of foreigners and superiors at this interview, individuals at once

so timid and suspicious, haughty and repulsive as these connexions and servants of the ruler of Khyrpore.

Unfeigned anxiety was felt in both camps respecting the arrival of the ratified convention. The Sindians wished to be assured that the army, which was now so near to one of their capitals, was really bound by a solemn engagement to pass through their country in peaceful guise; the British, impatient to press on towards Hydrabad, felt the necessity of first securing the fortress, which might justly be reckoned the key of Upper Sinde, and under the walls of which, as soon as these were in their possession, they could tranquilly mature every plan for the invasion of Affghanistan. As the line of communication was long from Roree to the governor-general's camp, and an accident might have happened even to an express, it was a relief to many minds, when late on the night of Saturday, the 26th January, a despatch arrived containing the expected document with his lordship's signature affixed to it. Sir Henry Fane at once determined to produce it the next morning in full durbar, at the purposed reception of Meer Roostum. His Excellency's large tents had been pitched on a convenient spot on

the sand, not far from the head-quarters of the force.

Accordingly at an early hour on the 27th every preparation had been made for the visit of the Ameer. A guard of honour of the 2nd light cavalry and of the 13th light infantry was drawn up in two lines in front of the state pavilion, and every eye was bent towards the outlets from the Sindian camp near the town of Roree. It was known that Sir Alexander Burnes had before daybreak quitted his own tents at the bend of the river close to the city, for the purpose of repairing to the temporary abode of the ruler; and as none were ignorant of the extent to which suspicion had taken hold of the mind of Meer Roostum and his state advisers, it seemed yet problematical whether or not they would keep their appointment. Time was wearing away, and though it was ascertained that the Sindian chiefs, and their attendants had long since left their tents, yet neither they nor their *cortége* were seen to issue from the date groves into the sandy plains below. All ranks had long since in some measure partaken of a feeling of impatience, when at length, the *suwarree* was descried at a distance, and in the midst of three hundred horse-

men and retainers, mounted on the well shaped but diminutive steeds of Sinde gaily equipped, the spectators beheld a stout and gray-headed personage riding by the side of Sir Alexander Burnes, who, habited in the uniform of a British colonel was conversing with his companion, evidently with the gestures and emphasis of eager persuasion. Three or four times the cavalcade stopped between the clustering date-trees and the British tents, causing at each halt a fresh paroxysm of petulance in the spectators and British leaders. At length the horsemen reached the head of the street, and no sooner were the principal personages, and their recognised suite fairly within the living defile, than the light cavalry wheeled up right and left at the gallop, and enclosed between the lines of infantry, before the great tent, the whole *suwarree*, thus excluding the rabble which followed at its heels. The vivacity of this movement certainly did not tend to quiet the apprehensions of the Sindians; but their fears had not schooled them into politeness: for hereupon supervened a scene of tumult and uproar in the midst of the suite, as the parties composing it dismounted and pressed on to the place of audience, even less courteously and dignified than the approach of the followers of the "Lion

of the Punjaub," on a similar occasion at Ferozepore.

Sir Henry Fane, according to established etiquette, advanced to the edge of the carpet to receive Meer Roostum, whom he conducted to a seat at the upper end of the tent, whilst Sir Alexander Burnes welcomed him in Persian. The lingual confusion of Babel was surpassed in the scene which ensued, as each Ameer, relative, minister, and retainer loudly asserted in tones, compared with which the chattering of jays and magpies, would have been harmonious and decorous, his right to sit in the high presence; the aspirants rudely and ferociously snatching up the chairs as they asseverated their claim. It was long before the combined efforts of Sir Alexander Burnes, and Captain Hay, the Persian interpreter, succeeded in stilling this storm of jealous contention. But when the Ameers and Wuzeers of Khyrpore had, on the partial failure of their own powers of vociferation rather than from any sense of decency, been brought to an anchor in something like a courtly line before Sir Henry Fane, and their national and domestic head; when order was in a measure restored amongst the subordinates and silence, often demanded, had for a few brief minutes been preserved, his Excellency a little

abruptly began the conference, by producing, after a short complimentary prelude, the signed and ratified instrument, which placed Fort Bukkur under British guardianship, and secured present safety and protection to the territories of Meer Roostum. The Khyrpore ruler replied by a general expression of pacific and kindly views, and reminded his Excellency of the ancient alliance of his Raj with the English, and its consistent adherence to the principles of their policy. He regretted at the same time that his brethren of Meerpore and Hydrabad had suffered themselves to be deluded into a contrary course, but assured Sir Henry that the period of their errors and follies had at length arrived; since, whatever might be their disposition, he and his relatives would now force the other members of the Talpoor family into the adoption of the right line of politics.

The presents were, after the delivery of this harangue, somewhat hastily produced and accepted, and Sir Henry Fane briefly remarking that the promises and assurances of Meer Roostum were fair and pleasing, but that a long course of vexatious opposition to the wishes of the British government, on the part of those who still ruled in Lower Sinde, had left the English no alternative but the adoption of the

promptest, and most decisive measures with a view to placing matters on an intelligible footing, moved to the door, and invited the abashed Sindian to accompany him to view a part of the means which were about to be employed for that, which he considered on the strength of Meer Roostum's own professions, the common advantage. All mounted forthwith—Sir Henry Fane on his lofty charger riding by the side of the Talpoor chief on his humbler steed. The relatives, the Wuzeers, the retainers, and the British generals and their staffs proceeded in such order as they could form in, or preserve, the Arab and Hindoostanee chargers curvetting and fighting with the neighing and prancing quadrupeds of Sinde, to a spot, where on the edge of the encampment the Bengal brigade of cavalry with its artillery was drawn up. It received Meer Roostum with a general salute, and then began to defile past him. The Sindian, a man of portly, rather comely, and very venerable appearance, and soft and courteous manners, eyed anxiously and earnestly this specimen of the force, which was destined to chastise or subdue his brethren. The brigade was up to this time in high order, its soldiers were healthy, and starvation had not yet lowered the condition or mettle of its horses. The size, spirit,

caparisoning and training of these animals produced a sentiment of unfeigned astonishment in the mind of the Ameer.

First the artillery moved by, and then the 2nd light cavalry; but when the column of the lancers began to pass, this array of European strength, comeliness, and complete equipment, took Meer Roostum by surprise, and pointing alternately to the 2nd light cavalry, and to the British files, he exclaimed,* "An nuql ust, lekin een usl ust." "Oh! that is the copy, but this is the original." The military spectacle lasted upwards of half an hour. Then the Ameer and his Excellency parted, after friendly leavetaking; and now the cause of the delays of the morning were developed, and it was explained that all hopes of an amicable conference had at one time nearly proved abortive, that several times the dissuasive arguments of the Wuzeer, who was unfriendly to the measure of an interview, had nearly prevailed, that the alarmed and doubting Ameers had, in terror and perplexity, made seven or more halts between their encampment and the durbar tent, and had only been brought on at last by strong doses of encouragement, mingled with hints of offence,

*آن نقل است لیکن این عصل است

which their retrocession would now inevitably give, which were skilfully exhibited by Sir Alexander Burnes at each fresh accession of doubt and hesitation. As "words," including, it may be supposed, proper names, have been ruled to be "things," it may be right to specify that the appellations of the Khyrpore Ameers, according to seniority are, Meer Roostum, Meer Moobaruk, and Alee Moorad; and that their subjects are wont somewhat scornfully to describe them in three pithy, though not very complimentary rhymes, which are said to constitute a pretty faithful epitome of their characters.

"Meer Roostum rung men.
Meer Moobaruk jung men.
Alee Moorad bhung men."

which may be thus freely Englished:

"Meer Roostum a showy ass is,
Meer Moobaruk in war surpasses,
Alee Moorad too fond of his glass is."

At the review and conference of the 27th "a moral lesson" was at once read, and a proof of British honesty given to Meer Roostum and "his brothers near the throne." But these sufficed not to unlock their hearts closed by the consciousness of indwelling duplicity. The

production of the ratified treaty ought to have been followed by the prompt surrender of Bukkur, the key of the lower Indus. But the language held before and during the cavalry display, had put it beyond doubt that the important measure was decided upon of marching to the aid of Sir John Keane, and it must have been evident to the Sindians that, upon that account, time was most precious to the British. It is probable that they could not therefore withstand the temptation of trying whether the arts, which had so long detained the Bombay force might not avail to check for a time the advance of the army of the other presidency. Monday, the 28th, passed away, and the cession had not been carried into effect. During the whole of this period Sir Alexander Burnes was negotiating with the Ameers, and their minister, and urging upon them the decency and propriety of their fulfilling their compact. But he had, not now for the first time certainly, to deal with men, to whom a direct and decisive line of conduct was unknown or inexplicable.

Their minds fertile in paltry excuses, and pleas of evasions, and as if unwilling to falsify the epithet applied to them by their neighbours, who describe the Sindians as "*aram tulub*"—seekers of ease,—or perhaps still hoping to hear

news from lower Sinde, which might imbolden them to withhold the fortress altogether, or believing, or affecting to believe that the British would act, as they themselves could have comported themselves under parallel circumstances, and having taken possession of the stronghold, proceed to attack Roree, asault the Sindian camp, and violate all the terms of the compact of peace; they continued to put off the evil hour. It is known that their force behind Roree was considerably reinforced. On our side, therefore, strong pickets were posted, as our successive brigades arrived in their positions, which fronted in that direction, and the strictest watch was secretly kept on every movement in the Sindian lines. This circumspection was put to the proof on the night of the 28th, when a single shot from the musket of an inadvertent sepoy of the rear-guard of the 37th regiment native infantry, turned out the whole line of three brigades of infantry, the cavalry, and powerful artillery. It happened that the whole got under arms rapidly, steadily, and without noise, and turned in again in the same order as soon as the real cause of the false alarm was ascertained, and this little alert might have proved to our enemies, and false friends, that they had a poor prospect of ever obtaining

any advantage over a British force, as they had been wont to reckon on overwhelming a careless camp of Asiatics, by their favourite device of a *shubkhoon*,* a species of visit, with which both Sindians and Affghans often threatened us.

An early hour on the morning of the 29th was next fixed by the Ameer for the transfer of the place, and a wing of the 35th native infantry, and the flank companies of the 16th, under Colonel Monteath of the former corps, were ordered to be in readiness to take possession of it. This day also was wearing away, whilst notes were continually passing between Sir Alexander Burnes and the Ameers, their ministers, and the Killadar of the fort. Boats had been brought to the *ghat* near to the spot where Sir Henry Fane's fleet was moored, and the troops had piled their arms on the sandy beach. The sun was declining, and it was observed that the three pieces, which had before been mounted on different faces of the work, had been all brought to the south-eastern rampart and pointed towards the spot where the vessels were assembled. A letter sent to

* Literally night slaughter, a nocturnal attack.

the Sindian Killadar demanding the keys of the great gate, had been answered by an objection to the rank and authority of the personage who was made the medium of the requisition. All seemed mysterious and fluctuating. It would have been easy indeed to have cut the knot. Guns might have been dragged to the top of the limestone heights near the Ziarutgah, placed in position, where these eminences command the fortress, another battery established amongst the hills of Sukkur, and a force ferried over and a lodgment made in the island of Khaju Khizzur. Thence and from the Sukkur side, from which to the greater island itself, across the narrower channel, the bridge was firmly compacted, the result of an attack by two columns after a cannonade and bombardment of some hours, could not have been doubtful. But the Ameers continued to promise fair, and it was not considered politic to tempt them by too strong measures to break with us at this conjuncture.

Finally, a more cautious, formal, and ceremonious note sent by a messenger of higher rank procured for us the keys, which were delivered to Sir Alexander Burnes, and the native troops went on board eight large boats, which

had been prepared for them, in great order, and with much alacrity and steadiness. Yet still there was no absolute certainty that men, who had dallied so long, would not frame fresh excuses, the more especially as the Sindian garrison and their Killadar yet remained in the fortress. It seemed prudent, therefore, to provide for the case of possible resistance, whether arising from the treachery of the princes or the contumacy of their soldiery; and, with this view, when Sir Willoughby Cotton and his staff, and the British envoy took their places in the prow of the vessel, which was to lead, two bags filled with a quantity of powder deemed sufficient to blow in the great gate, were also put on board. An engineer and artillery officer embarked in this boat. Onwards the soldiers of this little flotilla moved in high spirits towards the walls and lofty portal; but as they neared them, the Sindian boatmen struggling with full force of oars to avoid being carried beyond the destined point and below the fortress by the stream, and to shun dangerous collision with the imperfectly-moored boats of the nearer bridge, two vessels were seen crossing from Bukkur to Roree crowded almost to sinking with the little garrison. Our crews continued to pull with

loud shouts towards the walls of the fortress, and one boat full of native soldiers having touched the shore before that of Sir Willoughby Cotton, they landed, filed up the bank, and formed close to the gate. In another moment Bukkur was in our possession. The general and his staff and Sir Alexander Burnes sprung ashore, the ponderous portal flew open at the touch of the Sindian keys, the sepoys in great goodhumour shouted as is their custom on occasions of joy "*Buhm, Buhm, Mahadeo,*" toiled up the winding ascent to the main rampart, crowned it, waved their caps and arms, and planted the British ensign by the side of that of Meer Roostum on one of the towers. The little detachment was soon formed in the great area, the keys formally given in charge to the new governor, Colonel Monteath, guards posted, and the place secured, and before the shades of night had shut in the scene, the general of the Bengal contingent and his staff, and Sir Alexander Burnes, whose able and persevering negotiations were thus rewarded by ultimate success, had made their way back in a light cutter to their encampment.

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. It was a most auspicious circumstance in the outset of these operations, that the force had to pass through the territories of a ruler so friendly as Bhawul Khan. It is difficult to estimate the inconveniences to which it would have been subjected, if in this stage of events its efforts had been baffled by intrigues, such as those of Mihrab Khan, and the Ameers of lower Sinde, or if in the Daoodpootras it had found foes as malignant, and mercurial, as afterwards in the Belooche freebooters, or the various predatory tribes, which infested the route from the Indus to the environs of Cabool. The vicinity of the Bikaneer and Jessulmere deserts would have afforded nearly as great facilities for an inglorious and harassing species of warfare as the wastes of Cutch Gundava, or the mountain ridges of the Brahoick, the Burleekee, the Khoja Amran or the Gautee ranges, or the heights, which overhang the valley of the Turnuk. Doubtless the Daoodpootra had strong inducements at this period to be faithful. Besides, the powerful force which was traversing his land, a British division (the second) was encamped on his frontier, ready to be put in motion on the first symptom of disaffection,

and it is not surprising that he was little disposed at this period to run the risk of being called upon by us to hand over a further portion of his territories to our Sikh ally, who in past times had forced him to make important cessions.

2°. The negotiations of Sir Alexander Burnes, which ended in the surrender of Fort Bukkur without a shot, deserve to be classed with the ablest efforts of British diplomacy in Asia. Let it be remembered that the Sindians had a wrong to complain of in the cool and contemptuous notification of our intention of suspending part of the provisions of the commercial treaty of 1832, as before adverted to. This might have sufficed to arouse the suspicions of a less jealous people, but moreover, they could hardly even at this time have been ignorant of the further intentions of the British government. They must probably have known that a formal demand would be made upon the Talpoor dynasty for the payment of twenty-eight lacs of rupees arrears of tribute to Shah Shooja, and that the whole line of the Indus was about to be occupied by British garrisons. This was the state of affairs when Burnes had the address to persuade the ruling Ameer of the Khyrpore branch, that his sole hope of safety in the coming storm

lay in promptly detaching himself from the family and national league, and propitiating the English by placing in their hands the only fortress in his dominions. As the journey into Central Asia had already given the negotiator a high place amongst British travellers, so the acquisition of Bukkur for his government stamped him at once as an able diplomatist. It is to be observed, however, that his representations were backed with a most powerful argument; for though at the time the treaty of surrender was signed, the Bengal contingent had not even reached Bhawulpore, yet it was known to be steadily advancing towards the frontiers of the Khyrpore territory, the whole forces of which country could not have stood half an hour in open field against one of its brigades. If Colonel Pottinger, in Lower Sinde, had gone to Hydrabad, supported by a force as much the master of its own movements as the Bengal contingent, it is probable that his negotiations too would have been brought to a more speedy conclusion.

3°. The difficulties, with which the army under Sir John Keane was environed, at the conjuncture which the narrative has reached, plainly appear to have arisen out of the error of preferring a maritime expedition to an ad-

vance upon Sinde by land. The consequences were a temporary paralysis of the powers of the fine contingent, which had just debarked without means of transport on the hostile coast, and the disunion of the forces, which had been destined to operate in concert against the frontiers of Affghanistan. Fort Bukkur, which was the true point of junction, had indeed fallen into our hands, but between the Bengal and Bombay head-quarters a levy of twenty-five thousand Sindians and alien Belooches lay encamped, and the communication was so completely interrupted, that for some days despatches could not be conveyed without great risk up either bank of the Indus, even by the secret agents in the pay of our diplomatists.

4°. Praise has already been bestowed on the prompt passage of the Indus by the contingent of Shah Shooja. The establishment of his force at Shikarpore, which immediately supervened thereupon, was a bold but perfectly safe and judicious measure, a front being thus shown towards his ancestral dominions, whilst the Bengal army made its lateral movement into Sinde. Shikarpore is two marches only from Bukkur, with which place the Shah was soon therefore to be connected by our growing

bridges, whilst he derived support from the force which we had left there in position.

5°. The necessity for the flank march towards Hydrabad ought not to be controverted. It would have been in opposition to every sound principle, both military and diplomatic, to have prolonged our march beyond the right bank of the Indus, before we had secured our left flank, restored our communications with the Bombay contingent, and ascertained that the negotiations with the Hydrabad Ameers were in one way or another brought to a favourable issue.

CHAPTER IV.

Advance of three brigades towards Nousheehra—Return visit of Meer Roostum near Khyrpore—March from Roree—Golden prospects of the army—Bengal column reaches Khandujara—Menaces—Hydrabad—Retraces its steps to Bukkur—Sir John Keane prepares to advance by the right bank of the Indus—Passage of the Indus—Observations.

The time had now arrived when it was necessary without further delay to commence the operation, which was expected very effectively to aid in deciding all that was doubtful in Lower Sinde. Whilst Bukkur was slowly lapsing into our hands, as above related, accounts had been received from Sir John Keane, which fully confirmed the intelligence which had before reached us, to the effect that the undisguised *ultimatum* of Colonel Pottinger, the main features of which were, the demand of payment to us by the Sindian rulers of the three families of twenty-eight lacs of rupees, arrears of tri-

bute due to Shah Shooja, and the purposed occupation by British troops, to be subsisted by the Ameers, of their towns of Sehwun and Tatta, and their fortress of Curachie, had been scornfully rejected by the rulers of the western delta of the Indus. We learnt at the same time that they were moving forward from the Meerpoor territory a large force for the defence of Hydrabad, and had interposed another between that capital and the Bombay army, the headquarters of which were soon after advanced to Jarruk.

Estimates of the strength of Indian levies are, owing to the natural heedlessness, mendacity, and passion for hyperbole of those, from whom information on the subject is sought, very commonly fallacious. But it was believed by such of the English in lower Sinde as were best instructed on the point, that the main forces in and around Hydrabad, including its garrison, and the foreign Belooches, which had been recently raised, did not fall short of twenty-five thousand soldiers. The crisis therefore seemed to us worthy of our best exertions, as on the 1st of February the cavalry, aided by the horse artillery, and the 1st and 2d brigades of infantry, supported by the camel battery, were put in

motion towards the town of Noushuhra, in the expectation that this diversion would either compel the Ameers to detach a corps to dispute our further progress, or induce them from the dread of the impending peril of being crushed between the forces of the two contingents, to accede at once to the propositions of Colonel Pottinger. The 4th brigade was placed in position on the left bank of the Indus, near Roree, as a reserve at once to our force, and that of Shah Shooja. The park and siege train were left at the same place. There was a strong inducement to adopt this last arrangement, because, although the bullocks which had dragged the long line of carts laden with ammunition and stores, as well as the heavy guns, from Ferozepore, had reached the Indus in excellent condition, it might not be prudent with reference to their anticipated labours in the provinces of the dismembered kingdom of Cabool, to exhaust and wear them out now by a long march to Hydrabad, and a toilsome countermarch back to the primary line of operation. At the same time, it was not to be forgotten, that as Sir John Keane's force was below, and that of Sir Willoughby Cotton above the Sindian capital, it might, without any vio-

lation of the laws of probability, come to pass that no way would have remained open to us of effecting the desired object of our movement but by an attack single-handed on the main fortress of our enemy.

The walls of Hydrabad had never been described as strong; but as they and the city adjacent to them, were defended by a garrison and force numerically overwhelming, and the ramparts of the fortress were said to be armed by a respectable artillery, it was most desirable that we should arrive before it, possessed of the means of battering in breach. The nine-pounders of our camel battery could only have been used as enfilading guns, or to keep down at the moment of assault the fire of the place. Choosing between difficulties however, as it is necessary perpetually to do in war, our election was made to leave the siege train under the walls of Bukkur.

It had been one of the strange consequences of the interruption of the communication between Upper and Lower Sinde, that the further progress of the commander-in-chief in India, on his voyage to the point of embarkation for England, was effectually arrested. It was of course impracticable to navigate his fleet past Hydrabad whilst occupied by our foes. About

this time too it was made known to his Excellency that her majesty's government could not at this conjuncture consent to be deprived of his valuable services, and therefore, with many expressions of well-merited commendation, had commanded his further stay in India until at least the termination of present hostilities. In consequence of this intelligence, Sir Henry Fane landed from his flotilla, attached his head-quarters to the 1st brigade of infantry, and declared his intention of accompanying our march into Lower Sinde, not as the leader of our contingent, but as commander-in-chief in India in progress to Bombay, and as our friend, well-wisher, and valuable counsellor, which all esteemed him to be. Sir Willoughby Cotton as commander still purposed generally to move with the cavalry brigade.

Meer Roostum had made it his earnest request that our troops should not pass through his capital. Though the British, as has been seen, were not without grounds of complaints against him, yet as he had set the example of submission in Sinde, there was a disposition to gratify the natural desire of this ruler to be still honoured by his own people. A route was therefore chosen for the force in progress to Noushuhra, which would carry it about seven

miles to the westward of Khyrpore. At his camp yet nearer to the capital, Meer Roostum expressed a wish to receive the counter visit of Sir Henry Fane, which was accordingly paid on the day on which our leading column completed its third short march. The Ameers have all amassed wealth; and with that mixture of systematic avarice and occasional profusion often seen in those who are habituated to hoarding, are on the whole more munificent in the scale of their durbar presents than their Belooche, Sikh, or Affghan neighbours. At this interview they gave away some curious and costly specimens of the weapons and martial equipments of their country; matchlocks inlaid with gold and silver, swords with valuable hilts, horse-furniture richly embossed, and tastefully-embroidered belts, cartouche-boxes, and powder-horns. They have adopted a notion on this subject, however, a little disparaging to our countrymen. They consider that if they desire to gratify an Asiatic, it may be expedient to offer him a fine Persian blade; but that to propitiate an Englishman, a weapon of the most ordinary manufacture will suffice, if it have only gold enough on the hilt and mountings, or if the scabbard be richly set with precious stones.

On the 1st February, the force of cavalry and infantry, which Sir Willoughby Cotton was conducting against Hydrabad, began to penetrate the date groves, which lie to the south-westward of Roree. It was soon entangled in the limestone defiles, which flank the town; and its first march into lower Sinde, in which it passed the camp of the minister of the Khyrpore Ameers, who yet lingered near Bukkur, was one of the most singular ever traversed by an army. For full five miles the route lay through a dense date-forest. The trees were so numerous that their leafy heads shut out the sun; but the ground beneath, perfectly cleared from thicket, was every where enclosed and planted with pomegranate and orange trees. This long succession of gardens or orchards was subdivided, and protected by strong and high fences, so that the slightest deviation from the narrow and dusty road was impracticable. Onward in high order, and with great regularity, a blended force of all arms continued to thread these wooded mazes, until the dense enclosures were at length exchanged for copses, and deserted glades, and long stripes, and thick clumps of the date. The troops, breathing more freely as they emerged from the extensive

forests, found themselves between seven and eight A.M., after a hot and toilsome march, in an encamping-ground shut in by jungle.

The brother of Meer Roostum's Wuzeer, with a considerable *suwarree*, accompanied our advance, having proffered to act as our guide and commissary. His influence obtained for us supplies and a hospitable and civil reception in the villages; but, notwithstanding the amicable professions of his court, and its affectation of alienation from the policy and counsels of Hydrabad, our topographer certainly appeared, under the pretext of conducting us by the most eligible route, to be manœuvring to delay and protract our march, so as to gain time for the fraternal Ameers, in the hostile capital, to mature their plans of resistance or evasion. At this period Sir Alexander Burnes usually rode at the head of our column, and afforded us the advantage of his experience and information; and, in case of his unavoidable absence, we had the assistance, as an agent for the supply of our wants, and an interpreter, able in both capacities, of his celebrated Monshee or Meerza, Mohun Lal, who, born of Hindoo parents at Delhi, and educated in the college established there by the British, speaks English with a good accent and much idiomatic propriety.

This intelligent and amiable man accompanied his adventurous master through all his wanderings in Central Asia, displaying every where a rare union of zeal, tact, and fidelity, and, on his return to Hindoostan, published a journal of his tour, which, considered as the work of an Asiatic in a foreign tongue, may be reckoned a most creditable production. The educated people in Sinde all converse in Persian with fluency, with which *lingua franca*, as it may justly be esteemed from the Indus to the Caspian, the good Meerza and his gifted employer were, of course, equally familiar.

The columns continued their advance by the route indicated by the brother of the Wuzeer. It run, as has been intimated, nearer to the Indus than the more beaten track through Khyrpore, and lay over a well cultivated country, abounding with wheat, *joowaree*, and carrots, turnips, onions, and other vegetables, which, in the provinces of Hindoostan, as in England, are cultivated in gardens only, but here and in the Punjab in large fields. We soon discovered, however, that Sir Alexander Burnes had not erred, when he warned us not to look amongst the Sindians for the amicable feelings or honest dealings of the Daoodpootras. The Khyrporeans sold us every thing at prices

at which we now railed as exorbitant, but to which we would indeed have reverted with delight in after times amongst the mountains and deserts of Beloochistan, or even in the Ghiljee states, or the provinces of the Candahar, and Cabul rule, until complete success had, as it commonly does, brought plenty with it.

But at this period the spirits of every soldier in the Bengal contingent were buoyant and high. Before us lay Hydrabad. It was known to contain the accumulated wealth of the most affluent, as well as powerful, of the branches of the Talpoor family, amounting in specie, jewels, and other valuables, and ingots of gold, to eight crores of Sindian rupees well told, or not less than eight millions sterling. Such a prize is not often in a century, even in India, presented to the grasp of a British army. As we moved forward we heard daily of the contumacy and insolence of the Ameers having mounted higher and higher, of their obstinate and contemptuous rejection of all the proposals of Colonel Pottinger, of the whole of the officers of the British legation having quitted the capital, and of a tone of the most haughty defiance maintained on the brink of impending destruction by the Belooche and Sindian soldiery.

The Bombay force, partially supplied with

carriage animals, had now advanced from Tatta as far as Jarruk, but the country between it and the capital was of an impracticable character, nearly the whole tract consisting of one of those vast Shikargahs, or forests of tangled thicket, which, in the spirit of the earlier Norman rulers of England, the Ameers, to the great injury of their subjects, never permit them to clear away, preserving them as sanctuaries for game of every description. The passion of these princes for field sports is described as absorbing every other feeling but the lust of accumulating money. Their notions of the chase are not, however, very manly. The game, chiefly deer and wild hog, is either enticed to a spring, or driven in large quantities by numerous fielders in front of the lordly and lethargic sportsmen, who slaughter it by taking aim with their long and heavy matchlocks fixed in rests from a balcony.

A third prevailing peculiarity of these rulers is the hatred and dread of the intrusion of foreigners into their states. All their tastes and feelings, therefore, were now likely to be cruelly outraged. They were summoned to sterner exercises than the destruction of the forest race, and from the north and south alike a host

of foreign invaders was advancing, every soldier of each of which, from the general to the private sentinel, was already calculating the amount of his share of the hoards, from which the daylight had been so long excluded in the vaults of a round tower, lofty, massive, and mysterious, and nightly dreamt of by the army of the Indus, in the centre of the area of the fortress of Hydrabad. The prospect was delightfully in unison with the predatory sympathies of armed bodies; for, whether the troops from Bombay might, first penetrating the forests before them pass the river, and batter and assault the defences of the capital, or the Bengal contingent coming down upon it from the north, should carry the mouldering walls by a *coup-de-main*, Hydrabad appeared to be our destined prey, and its wealth our lawful prize, the fair requital of the labours of one force, and a noble and rightful compensation for the vexations endured by the other. But these hopes were speedily to be blasted, and the negotiator and his protocol, not the bayonet or the sabre, were to achieve all the triumphs which, for some months, were to be witnessed by the army of the Indus.

To other causes of congratulation had been added within a few days, the certainty not only that our lateral movement was in accordance

with true principles, which we had presumed never to doubt, but that the value of our voluntary aid was duly appreciated, a requisition having been received at our head-quarters from Sir John Keane, urging us, under the circumstances of the resistance which he continued to encounter, to move a troop of horse artillery, a detachment of cavalry, and a brigade of infantry in the direction of Hydrabad. Rejoiced to learn that we had anticipated the wishes of our commander, and even exceeded their limit; we moved forward on the 6th February over a country, sandy, but rendered productive by judicious irrigation by means of numerous cuts communicating with the great river, and well-planted with the jujube, and the babool, until we reached the vicinity of the town of Khandivara. Here we encamped at a short distance from a considerable eminence, covered with buildings of sunburnt brick, little expecting that our well-timed excursion into lower Sinde was to terminate at this place.

We had purposed to halt at Khandiyara a single day, and our advanced tents had on the 7th already been pushed on to the next encampment, when about ten P. M. despatches arrived from Sir John Keane, dated Jarruk, 1st February. Great and instantaneous was the

change made by these letters in the prospects of this army. In a moment all our visions of glory and of booty were dispelled. It was announced to us that the Ameers were at length brought to reason by a sense of the impending danger, and that, compelled to comprehend that a few days would, according to every calculation of human prudence, deprive them at once of their independence, their capital, and the accumulated treasures of years, they had accepted unreservedly all the conditions of the treaty laid before them by Colonel Pottinger. The negotiator, however, was unwilling to consider the pacification as complete, until ten lacs, in part of the twenty-eight of arrears of tribute, had been paid down by the Sindians. A few days had been allowed for the fulfilment of this stipulation. Sir John Keane therefore directed the brigades of the Bengal army to halt wherever his despatch might reach them, and await his further instructions.

Meanwhile intelligence reached us that both bridges over the Indus had been completed, and the army, bitterly disappointed by the upshot of its endeavours in lower Sinde, found comfort in the hope of an early advance into Affghanistan. Antecedently to the events just recorded, part of the levy of Shah Shooja, detached from Shikarpore, had taken possession

of the large town of Larkhanu on the right bank of the Indus; and soon after we were for the first time put in communication with the envoy and minister at the court of the prospective monarch. Mr. Macnaghten having completed all the diplomatic arrangements with the ruler of the Sikhs, of which the visit to Lahore was introductory, had passed down the Indus, and reached the head-quarters of the contingent, still fixed at Shikarpore. Arrived there, his mind appears to have been assailed with troublesome and natural, but needless apprehensions, when he found that a considerable portion of the Bengal force had diverged from the original line of advance towards Affghanistan, and was already within a few marches of Noushuhra on the high-road to Hydrabad. Fearing that the success of the principal enterprise might be endangered by the delay attendant upon this operation, he wrote strongly to urge our immediate countermarch upon Bukkur, and prompt appearance upon the right bank of the Indus.

These representations reached us at Khandiyara. No other reply could at the moment be offered to them, than that Sir Willoughby Cotton was now in communication with Sir John Keane, and must await his further in-

structions. But it was not long before the arrival of these enabled us to act in full conformity with the wishes of the envoy. The Ameers had paid down the ten lacs, and Sir John's mandate was issued for our return to Bukkur. Vainly repining therefore at the change in events which had given this small sum to the state, instead of endowing the army with eight crores, its officers and men with light purses and heavy hearts, turned their backs on Hydrabad, from which they had hoped never to recede, until they had made its treasures their own, and put to a stern proof that Belooche valour, which had so loudly vaunted its power to arrest their further progress, and fix on the banks of the Indus the war which they had set out resolved to carry into the centre of Affghanistan.

But in fact the demonstration in the direction of Noushuhra, had produced every military and political effect which was expected from it, though the event had not been precisely that which the troops employed in it could have desired. Each successive despatch represented that the Ameers, before so haughty and audacious, were at length humbled in the dust, and acutely felt that so far from being enabled to delay the chastisement of our enemies beyond

the frontiers of Beloochistan, they had themselves only escaped, by British clemency, from the jaws of utter destruction. The Bengal troops, without varying their route, returned to Bukkur and the line of the Indus, whilst Sir John Keane in preference to crossing at Hydrabad, and passing up to the same point by Hala and Noushuhra, prepared to march up the right bank of the river, by Sehwun and the Lukkee pass.

On the 14th February we were informed that the whole of our siege-train and park had been safely ferried across the Indus on rafts, it being deemed unwise to try the strength of the bridges with the weight of ordnance of such caliber; and on the same day an officer reached our head-quarters, who had seen the 2nd brigade, which, now that the order of our march was reversed, of course preceded us, pass with the utmost regularity and in the highest spirits over the pontoons from Roree to the island of Bukkur, and then from the sandy islet to the right bank of the Indus. Here, therefore, was an end of the unfounded doubts of some regarding the willingness of the native soldiers to serve beyond the boundary of the "*Hingun nuddee*," as they are wont to denominate the great stream, which the superstition of the Shasters

was said to have consecrated as the legitimate limit of the peregrination of all Hindoos. We now knew that our communication with Shikarpore was secure; but were as fully sensible as before of the impolicy of unnecessary delay in advancing in that direction, since the engineers had predicted that the bridges would not resist the force of the stream after the rise of the river, which was to be expected at the period of the vernal equinox, and might possibly take place sooner.

Our head-quarters were moved from Beeraloo, two hours before daylight, on the 15th February. The 1st brigade had preceded us, and its baggage animals were crowding the narrow road and raising a dense cloud of dust, as we once more entered the date groves and defiles near Roree. Thus obstructed, we won our way slowly down to the bank of the great river, whilst the heavy mists of Upper Sinde hung around our path. But these were dispersed as the sun, seen at intervals from amongst the trunks and branches of the truly oriental tree of which the forest around us was composed, began to shed forth fierce beams, and we were reminded that we had indeed escaped in time from the influence of its fervours in Lower Sinde, since, a few marches

from the Indus, though the thermometer had stood at 45° at daylight, it had risen at noon in the smaller tents of our camp to 100°. We thought at the same time of our comrades from Bombay, whom we had not yet been permitted to meet, and who had so long a march up the margin of the lower portion of the great stream before them, defended from the heat by canvass dwellings inferior to our own in size and aptitude of form for repelling the solar rays.

Our route, as we approached the river, varied in direction from that by which we had quitted its banks. We did not now again seek a point on the bank opposite Khaja Khizzir, but leaving the town of Roree to our right, reached at once the head of the larger bridge. Again, then, was displayed before our eyes the scene of Fort Bukkur, amidst the waters on its limestone pedestal, and the blue spires of the Zyarut-gah on the guardian, jutting rock, which looked lordly down upon the waves of this noble stream, at length pootooned over from bank to bank. The prows and sterns of the boats which formed the means of transit, lay firm and immovable amidst the vexed and whirling currents of the stream. Strings of loaded camels were moving with stately tread across the scarcely yielding planks, and each

horseman of our party, dismounting and handing over his steed to the care of the attendant syce (who led his charge carefully on, holding him by the snaffle), walked forward, first to the sandy platform of the fort, and then by the smaller bridge up to the right bank of the great river, A hospitable reception awaited us at a late breakfast-hour in the mess tent of the engineer officers, pitched in the middle of a date grove, in that which was now designated the sappers' and miners' camp, and soon afterwards we repaired to our own encampment, fixed in a little valley shut in by limestone rocks, and surrounded by the extensive ruins of the once proud city of Sukkur. Headquarters remained upon this spot until the 19th, and as we had come to our ground, Sir Henry Fane and his suite had re-embarked in their boats, which had dropped about a mile and a half down the stream. Hence having sent orders to certain of his staff-officers, now at Meerut, to join him at Bombay, his Excellency prepared to resume his voyage to the mouths of the Indus, since recent events had, it was hoped, for ever secured the uninterrupted navigation of the stream. He designed on his way down to confer with Sir John Keane (the meeting afterwards took place at Sehwun) on

the subject of the momentous enterprise, the issues of which were now to depend on that general's perseverance, valour, and skill.

On successive days, the different brigades of the force, and all its considerable *matériel* now crossed by the bridges, encamped about four miles from the river bank, and then moved on in two marches, first to the village of Khaee, and then to the large city of Shikarpore. The guns of the horse artillery were pulled over partly by their own men, and partly by the active and willing Sipahees of the 16th regiment native infantry, from thirteen to seventeen men seizing the drag ropes attached to each piece of cannon, and five or six impelling it from behind. This was an interesting sight, and the spectacle of the march of the three regiments of cavalry from bank to bank, was yet finer. They passed in single file, each officer, private and native trooper leading his horse on the left side. Not a single accident occurred, and not above a dozen horses out of the whole, famed as those bred in Bengal are for an intractable spirit, offered much resistance on the bridges, or manifested any serious symptoms of affright at the roaring of the waters on either side, or the occasional shrinking of the planks beneath their feet. This passage of the Indus will form

a memorable era in the records and recollections of the people of Sinde. When Burnes first ascended the stream in 1831, their suspicions were aroused of strange and eventful innovations devised by the restless foreigners, the circle of whose influence had been long drawn more closely than they desired around them; but even then there arose not one from amongst them hardy enough to predict, that in eight years more, they should see ten thousand soldiers of the English Raj, with all their baggage and twelve pieces of cannon march along under the very walls of Bukkur, on a few planks and timbers sawn hastily from the date groves at Sukkur, bound together with cordage partly spun from the herbage on the spot, and supported by ninety-four boats of their own merchant craft.

It would be ungrateful in speaking of our means of passing the great river, to forget the valuable aid which was received in the course of the undertaking from Lieutenant Wood, of the Bombay marine, an officer, who, not content with discoveries immediately connected with his own profession, and with having carefully surveyed the Indus from its several mouths to the Attock, had carried his researches into the countries on the left bank of the stream near

that celebrated passage, and along both margins of the Cabool river. Regarding the tracts thus visited, his information is said to be extensive. He had accompanied the fleet of Sir Henry Fane from Ferozepore to Bukkur, as had the enterprising and ingenious Mr. Masson, whose historical and topographical discoveries in Affghanistan, Beloochistan, and the Punjab, are so highly and deservedly prized in India. Lieutenant Wood's counsel and personal efforts were most useful to us from the period of the first exertions of our engineers at Roree, to the breaking up of our bridges on the rise of the river in the middle of March, when the mass of our force with its cannon and baggage was already traversing the plains of Cutch Gundava.

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. The march into Sinde was imperatively demanded by the aspect of affairs. Sir Willoughby Cotton, the military commander, who projected and executed it, had not forgotten that the main object of the campaign was the restoration of the Dooranee empire, and that this must be held in seeming abeyance if he moved against Hydrabad. He had, however, reflected that the passage of the Indus had been virtually secured since the surrender of Bukkur, but that

his bridges for the actual transit could not be completed before the 7th February, and would probably be safe until the middle of March, that the interval therefore might be usefully employed in a demonstration, which was well calculated to bring the Sindians at once to terms; but if they continued contumacious, it was yet more important to secure our left flank and rear against any enterprise which might, after all that had been spoken and done in Upper Sinde in a spirit seemingly amicable, have nevertheless been concerted between the Ameers of Hydrabad and their plausible brethren of Khyrpore. In short, it was necessary that Sinde should be politically settled and its armies disposed of, before Affghanistan could be safely invaded. The result of the well-timed interposition of the Bengal contingent has been seen.

2°. A force then of all arms moved towards Hydrabad. The question was not free from difficulty; but to me it yet appears evident that it ought to have taken with it every thing which was necessary for the scientific reduction of the place. As matters turned out a battering train was not required; but this will not satisfy all critics of the expediency of leaving it at Roree. Nine-pounders could not have breached the walls of Hydrabad, and to have

arrived before them, without the means of making a practicable opening, might have covered the whole operation with contempt, and perilled the success of the ulterior measures. Ghuznee was afterwards an example of signal success achieved by a daring *coup-de-main;* but such attempts are hazardous experiments, only justifiable where the absence of adequate means constitutes their true wisdom. The objection that the train might be required more urgently against the walls of Candahar, Herat, Ghuznee, or Cabool, and that therefore the means of transport ought to have been spared in Sinde, must not be allowed too much weight; for as the heavy guns had hitherto followed the army uninterruptedly, though *longo intervallo,* steady perseverance might have enabled them to keep their original place throughout the war; at all events, if it was decided that the army should move against Hydrabad at all, it ought to have marched towards it fully prepared to reduce it *secundum artem.*

3°. The uneasiness of the British envoy and minister relative to the flank movement into Sinde has been already noticed. It is impossible not to concur with him in the expediency of never losing sight of the main objects of the most complicated operations: but if military

caution bid us at this crisis look well to our left flank and rear, so political foresight seemed to demand that no forward movement should be attempted against Affghanistan until the power of the Ameers of Sinde to do mischief had been prostrated. I venture to think that, after all, these deceitful rulers were dealt with far too leniently. They had rejected after mature deliberation the terms proposed by Colonel Pottinger. Surely, since he was aware that aid was coming down from the north, the time had arrived for him abruptly and for ever to close the negotiations. Then, before one contingent or the other, or before both united, Hydrabad would have fallen, and a salutary and impressive lesson have been read, not only to Sinde, but to all the nations around. Had the sagacious and energetic ruler of British India been at Khandiyara or at Jarruk instead of in the Punjab, at the crisis of the scornful rejection of our terms, would he not have dictated the measure of an immediate attack upon the capital? Whatever course he might have pursued, no blame can of course attach to his diplomatists and generals on account of their adoption of a course of policy based on a forbearance almost without a parallel in history. They were bound by the letter of instructions, which had been

framed at a distance from the scene of the transactions to which they related; but subsequent events have afforded room to fear, that though the opportunity in February, 1839, was golden, the work of humbling the pride of the Ameers of Sinde has been very imperfectly done.

CHAPTER V.

Head-quarters of Bengal column fixed at Shikarpore—Shah Shooja, and his contingent—Progress of the Bombay army —Advance of the army of Bengal—Predatory attacks of the Belooche tribes—Dearth of water and forage—Sir Willoughby Cotton crosses the desert to Bursboree—Further progress—Pass and defiles in front of Noushuhra— —Fearful gale—Dadur—Observations.

HEAD-QUARTERS of the Bengal force were fixed at Shikarpore on the 20th February. The plains around this city of native money changers are arid and dusty, and the heat even at this season was at midday oppressive. A screen of date-trees intervened between our extensive encampment, and the frail and contemptible walls of the town, and the verdure of their tops, was the only relief which the eye could find on the dead level around. During the three days of our halt here our time was too much taken up by

reviews of the several brigades, interviews and discussions, and various preparations for the ensuing operations, to admit of our indulging in amateur research.

We were now, for the first time, in the same encampment with Shah Shooja, whose tents displayed something of oriental magnificence; whilst in the present state of his affairs it was gratifying to observe that essentials had not been neglected. Since the contingent had crossed the Indus, the officers of both cavalry and infantry had been indefatigable in their endeavours to improve the discipline of their corps, and the success of their efforts was manifest in the order of their camp, and the style in which their battalions were seen manœuvring in front of it. The Shah himself was at this time said to be very observant of the forms of his own faith, his attention to which is reported since to have relaxed. His state, when he appeared in public, did not materially differ from that by which he was surrounded, whilst in retirement at Loodiana. He was commonly borne on men's shoulders in a gilded litter fenced from the sun by a kind of circular dome, which was guarded and preceded by about sixty attendants of various kinds habited in scarlet, some armed with javelins, some with drawn

sabres, some carrying silver sticks, a certain proportion shouting out the titles of their master, and all hurrying on at a rapid pace to keep up with the royal *nalkee*. The most singular part of the costume of the monarch's retinue are the caps, by which a few of them are distinguished, of red cloth ornamented with long horns of black felt, which give the wearers the air of representing in masquerade the great enemy of the human race.

The king himself is rather a stout person of the middle size, his chin covered with a long, thick, and neatly-trimmed beard, dyed black to conceal the encroachments of time. His manner towards the English is gentle, calm, and dignified, without haughtiness; but his own subjects have invariably complained of his reception of them as cold and repulsive even to rudeness. His complexion is darker than that of the generality of Affghans, and his features if not decidedly handsome, are not the reverse of pleasing; but the expression of his countenance would betray to a skilful physiognomist that mixture of timidity and duplicity so often observable in the character of the higher order of men in Southern Asia.

Whilst we remained on the right bank of the Indus a succession of despatches had made

known to us that Sir John Keane was steadily pursuing his march towards Upper Sinde. His head-quarters were established at Majindu, on the 12th February, and he was known to have been only one march short of Sehwun, on the 17th, and whilst he was thus advancing towards the frontiers of Affghanistan, the occupation of the country behind him had been fully provided for by an event, the relation of which has been hitherto deferred in order to preserve unbroken the thread of the narrative. Whilst the negotiations at Hydrabad wore the most warlike aspect, another brigade of infantry, consisting of Her Majesty's 40th regiment, and two native corps, had been sent round by sea from Bombay under the command of Brigadier Valiant. Of this force a wing of the European soldiers was embarked on board of Her Majesty's ship Wellesley of 74 guns, which carried the flag of Sir Frederick Maitland, the admiral of the station. When she entered the bay of Curachie, the Sindians in the small fort of the same name, with inconceivable audacity, fired a gun at one of her boats. The admiral, the same who had known how to unite courtesy and compassion in his treatment of Napoleon in the day of his adversity, was not disposed to be trifled with by these barbarians. He returned the shot from a

gun better pointed than that of the soldiers of the Ameers; and on a renewal of the insult, opened a broadside in good earnest, and soon silenced the fire of the fort effectually, and drove its defenders in terror from its ramparts. Brigadier Valiant's brigade landing, occupied Tatta and some adjacent points, thus rivetting our hold on Sinde, and providing for the due execution of the terms of the treaty, whilst both contingents of the army of the Indus, with which the newly-arrived brigade was not incorporated, were thus left more at liberty to combine to bring back Affghanistan under its rightful yoke.

The force from Bengal had no intention of letting the grass grow under its feet at Shikarpore. We reached it on the 20th February. On the same morning, Sir Willoughby Cotton held a conference with the envoy and minister, and he had a private audience of His Majesty the Shah in the evening. At the former, an immediate advance on Dadur was determined on, several objections, which had been started, hav- been shown to be insufficient. Despatches arrived from Lord Auckland whilst Sir Willoughby Cotton and a large party were at table with the envoy on the same day, and time at this crisis being precious, a second consulta-

tion was held after dinner upon their contents. The military commander had, the next morning, the satisfaction to receive from the same high authority a letter expressive of his lordship's full approbation of the movement into lower Sinde, although he was not then informed of its important results. On this day and the next the Shah, who was desirous of seeing a part of the British army, reviewed, from his *nalkee*, the cavalry, and the 1st and 4th brigades of infantry. His Majesty, surrounded by his retinue as before described, was accompanied by the envoy and minister, and his assistants Major Todd, and Lieutenant Macgregor, in full diplomatic and military costume. He was plainly habited in a black vest, or *ulkhalik*, and wore on his head the kind of tiara to be seen in most of the portraits of the Mahomedan sovereigns of Hindoostan, the crown of which is square, with a jewel depending from each angle. His youngest son, the Shahzada Shapoor, a remarkably fair and handsome boy, nine years of age, the offspring of a Cashmeerian mother, rode on horseback in his father's train. The Shah seemed to be unfeignedly pleased with the military display before him on both days, and with the respect manifested towards him by British officers of all ranks; and on the second occasion he presented

Sir Willoughby Cotton, on the field, with a handsome sword of Persian manufacture.

On the 23rd our more serious employment recommenced. The cavalry was put in motion, before daylight, towards the village of Jagan, our first march in the direction of Dadur. Here it must be narrated, that although by advancing up the right bank of the Indus, the Bombay army had avoided the inconvenience of a two-fold passage of that mighty river, it was discovered that the route which it had chosen, was not free from difficulties. At the Lukkee pass a single march from Sehwun, one of the selected points of military occupation, it had found the road on the bank of the stream eaten away by the encroachments of the water, and could make no progress until its engineers had cut a passage round the side of the hills above. Despatches received from Sir John Keane, a little before the commencement of the royal review on the 22nd, indicated that these labours would hardly be brought to a close in fewer than five days.

On the 24th we resumed our route. From the time of the second arrival of our head-quarters on the Indus, the effect on our carriage cattle, of long marches and deleterious forage, had become more distinctly visible. From Sukkur to Shikarpore the road may be said without

hyperbole to have been strewn with dead and dying camels. The complaints of the commissariat on that head were already loud, and the abandonment and loss of private baggage had increased to a painful amount. When, therefore, we traced upon the map the vast tracts of impoverished plain, and absolute desert, which we had yet to traverse, and the mountain ranges over which we had to climb, it was manifest that even if, as had been predicted, the restoration should be effected wholly by the skill of negotiators and politicians, yet even the task of escorting them, assigned in these anticipations to the army of the Indus, was not a light undertaking.

Between Jagan and Janeedera we crossed the frontier line, which separates the territory of Shikarpore (blessed in having to pay tribute to two of the three branches of the Talpoor family) from Cutch Gundava or Cutchee, one of the provinces of the extensive country of Beloochistan, some of which are in a state of real, and some of merely nominal dependance on Mihrab Khan, our worthy ally of Kelat. At Janeedera we had a specimen of the treatment we were to expect from his subjects. A depot of straw had been collected under the walls of a trifling mud fort for the use of our cavalry, and that of the

Shah. But we were not now in the secure and friendly land of the Nuwab Bhawul Khan. The guard of the Shah's Hindoostanee troops had been attacked, and dispersed by a band of marauders, and the straw carried off. The intelligence of fresh obstacles also reached us here. The roads through Cutch Gundava, by which we were advancing, had been cut under the direction of Major Leech, assistant at that time to Sir Alexander Burnes. They were for the most part good; but to lessen yet further the chances of detention, the engineer department had, as before, preceded us to level all obstacles. From Captain Thomson we now received a communication to the effect that at Rojhan, which we might expect to reach on the 25th, we should find only two wells, the water of one of which was fetid and unfit for human use. From Sir Alexander Burnes however, who about this time rejoined us from Shikarpore, we had the pleasure of hearing of a third shaft, which he himself had caused to be sunk, and faced with brick. Still this was not a promising state of things for a brigade of cavalry, which was to be followed by two of infantry, the siege train and the numerous animals of our vast commissariat establishment.

The 2nd brigade had been left for the present at Shikarpore; but for the force, with which we

moved, we had reason to expect a deficiency of that, which men are too apt to undervalue until it becomes scarce,—of water, without which food cannot be cooked, the claims of cleanliness attended to, or the burning thirst quenched of soldiers worn down by tedious marching over sandy plains. We knew that at Rojhan we should find ourselves on the edge of a desert tract, which occupies the centre of Cutch Gundava. It is, in the hotter and drier months, a plain of arid sand, but is converted by the first heavy falls of rain into a salt marsh. The whole of it is swept at periods by the fatal *simoom;* it is pestilential amidst the extreme heats of April and May; not less so when its sands have been converted into swamps by the rains of June, July, August, and September; or when the exhalations rise in dense vapour from it a month later. We were therefore favoured in having to traverse it at a safe period of the year. The northern part of this unpropitious level is cultivated by means of bringing down water in small cuts from the Naree river, which is said to rise in the mountains north-west of Sebee, and from the stream which flows down the valley of Bolan. But at the period of our arrival at Janeedera, a *bund* or restraining dam had been thrown across the former near the town of Sewee, or

Sebee, whilst our route would not for some marches bring us near the latter.

Grass is, as might be expected, hardly ever to be procured in that unblessed portion of Cutch Gundava, which we were now approaching, and the only substitute for it which is to be found, viz., the stalks or straw of *joowar* or bajra (*holcus sorgum* and *spicatus*), called by the natives of Hindoostan *kurbee*, was not abundant; and it was either vexatiously withheld by the Ryots, or our little magazines of it plundered by the Belooche marauders, as soon as they became aware how much we stood in need of it. To march a strong brigade of cavalry across such a region might well therefore be deemed a difficult task, and it was evident that it could only be accomplished by causing it to pass the desert by single regiments or detachments of a few squadrons only, according to the extent to which exigences might develop themselves. It became of primary importance, also, to endeavour to secure a supply of water by cutting the dam of the Naree near Sebee, and sparing no labour or expense to improve and increase the numbers of the wells as we advanced; whilst the only hope of obtaining forage was in the activity of parties sent out into the hamlets and towns to seize

such small supplies of *kurbee* as might be found in them.

It was not very encouraging at the same time to learn that when, in 1834, Shah Shooja, in the course of his calamitous expedition to recover his throne, had come into this dreary vicinage, ignorant of the difficulties before him, thirty thousand of his troops and followers, and all his baggage animals had moved down in a mass upon the two wells of Rojhan. The scene of suffering and loss of life, which ensued, was such as to defy description. Our advance was more cautious and methodical, and therefore free from the disasters of the force of the royal refugee. The 1st brigade was directed to halt at Jagan, and the 4th, with which General Nott now moved, was ordered to close upon it, and it was not until the reports of General Thackwell and his staff-officers had assured us that the three wells at Rojhan would furnish an ample supply for the force which accompanied us, that we moved forward on the 27th with the artillery and a regiment of cavalry to that place.

Here we were refreshed in the midst of local sterility by receiving a despatch from the Governor-general; in which he not only expressed his unqualified approbation of the lateral march into lower

Sinde, the important results of which his foresight had enabled him to anticipate, but suggested, to our great satisfaction, the very movement, which had been made from Shikarpore, and urged us to press on without delay to Dadur, as soon as the great objects, which had led us off in the direction of Hydrabad, should be fully accomplished. Though the desert is defined by some topographers as commencing at Rojhan, the tract between that place and Janeedera may fairly be included under the same denomination. It is a level of hard sand impregnated with salt. This mixed substance crackles under the feet of horses as they traverse it, but it does not yield under them, sufficiently to impede their progress. There are no productions on the face of the country, excepting the tree called by the natives *jhal*, the thorn, which our followers denominated *jin*, a species of the wild caper (*caparis aphylla*), called in Hindoostan *kurel*, and some varieties of the *juwasa* or camel-thorn.

Our perplexities were not at an end, we had not yet indeed got into the midst of them. From Rojhan to the town and mud forts of Burshoree extends an unbroken level of twenty-seven miles of sandy desert, in which there is not only neither well, spring, stream, nor puddle, but not a tree, and scarcely a bush, an herb

or a blade of grass. General Thackwell with the lancers, and a small force of infantry, and irregular horse had passed over this tract in a few hours; but after waiting in vain two days at Burshoree in the hope of procuring forage, he had marched twenty-seven miles more to Oostar, where he found grass and straw, and in a small lake, which turned out to be a reservoir of water brought by a little canal from the Naree, there was enough of the valuable element to satisfy for a day or two the demands of a brigade. We derived in this season of difficulty the greatest assistance from Sir Alexander Burnes, whose efforts were unceasing. He was accompanied by the governor of Gundava, who had been despatched to our aid by our plausible ally, Mihrab Khan.

Unfortunately it happened that Major Garden, our able and scientific quartermaster-general, was at this period, when his exertions would have been most valuable to us, confined to his tent by an alarming attack of illness, the consequence of exposure to the sun in lower Sinde. His place was however supplied, for a few days, by Major Craigie, the adjutant-general; who, with Sir Alexander Burnes, pressed on in advance of the head-quarters from Rojhan, and organized the means of our supply of water and

forage in moving towards Dadur. Under these circumstances of delay and chagrin it was pleasing to learn from the secret agents of the political department, that the promptitude, with which we had broken up from Shikarpore, had evidently taken by surprise the sirdars of Candahar. They had yet adopted no measures for the defence of the Bolan pass, so that we had reason to hope that, if we should succeed in extricating our columns from the difficulties which would beset them in Cutch Gundava, we might yet debouche into the valley of Shawl before these dilatory and vacillating Affghans had drawn together any considerable forces to oppose us.

Sir Willoughby Cotton then—having at length set forward safely on their route before him towards Burshoree, the whole of his cavalry and horse artillery, and having made arrangements for the increase of the number of wells at that place, and at Meerpore, intermediate between it and Oostar, and having five days before despatched instructions to Major Leech to cut the dam at Sebee—mounted his horse to pass the desert at 3 A. M. on the morning of the 3rd of March. Brigadier Arnold and his aide-de-camps accompanied us, and we were followed by a small escort of the 3rd light cavalry. The moon

shone brightly, and it was only when our horses were in rapid motion that we did not feel the want of our cloaks, which we had consigned to our *syces*. Between Janeedera and Rojhan we had traversed a barren country, but there, as I have intimated, the eye was refreshed by the sight of a few trees, and some little variety of bushes; but here, after a canter of a mile and a half, nothing was to be seen by a light, almost as clear as that of day, but a flat surface of sand bounded by the horizon. The ground at a distance from the slight track worn by the tread of the preceding columns, and marked with a distinctive furrow by the sappers, was tinged with white, indicating the admixture of saline particles. As on the march to Rojhan, the ground flew up in flakes with a crackling sound as it received the impress of the horses' hoofs.

We pushed on at a canter, only occasionally pulling into a walk to give breathing time to our steeds; and though all around was perfect desolation, a certain elevation was imparted to the spirits of the party by the bracing air of the morning in this healthful month, and the novelty of the wild scene. Not a plant, not a blade of grass, not a solitary herb could be discerned. The sand was not, as in some deserts, for instance that of Bekaneer, and Jessulmere, ridged

into waves by the wind. It is probably flattened by the superincumbent weight of the waters, and the moisture communicated during the rainy months; but whatever be the cause, the surface is a perfect plane without rise or inequality of any kind, and seems to declare its main power to be the simple refusal of all vegetation, and to defy the skill or industry of man to improve, or render it subservient to his purposes. Onwards our party cantered, the air growing colder and colder as daylight drew nearer. As we had turned our horses' heads from the camp, the cavalry brigadier had gaily remarked, "We shall find our coffee halfway over the desert." A part of his hearers had understood this only as a pleasantry on the nature of the region, we were about to traverse, but it was soon found to be the anticipation of an agreeable reality.

At intervals, as we had passed along, we had overtaken a string of six or seven camels laden with the baggage of officers; at intervals the trampling of our horses startled some lingering followers, who had assembled to bask, smoke, and talk of their hardships around a fire of the dung of animals. Here and there we had seen other parties of the same tribe lying at full length asleep on the cold sand, wrapt up in their blankets, and forgetting in that slumber their

laborious marches, and scant, and indifferent fare; or dreaming perhaps of the villages and bazaars, the plenty and the *tumashas* of Hindoostan; but at length we perceived a glimmering light on the imperfectly-marked road, and an assemblage of natives around it, and with the relay of fresh horses for all but myself, we found a *badee*, or swift camel half laden, and half relieved of his burden; and spread on the ground an ample collation, cold beef, cold mutton, cold game, bread, butter, and various other tempting and substantial viands, and wine of several kinds, beer, brandy, and cigars. The sickness of a servant had alone defrauded us of the promised coffee. Such are the hardships of a soldier's life in India! It may be supposed that after a ride of thirteen miles, ample justice was done to the repast, for which we were indebted to the hospitable foresight of the brigadier. After recording the circumstances of this unexected refreshment, the mention of which is so far beneath the dignity of history, but perhaps allowable in a "personal narrative," I proceed to relate that the party mounted their second horses, and resumed their journey; and as the day dawned, and a cold north-west wind chilled them, and made me, and perhaps others, who had not like me been grilled more than fifteen

years by an Indian sun, once more regret the cloaks left behind us, we looked forward at a range of blue mountains dimly seen through the mist above the desert. This was the Brahoick chain. In every other direction all was flat and even as the surface of the ocean in a calm, nor was there during the ride of another hour and a half a trace of vegetation visible.

The sun had begun to diffuse a comfortable heat when the plain was observed to be slightly undulating, and a few bushes of the tamarisk were discerned at a distance in rows and patches. As we continued to steer on due northward, we beheld at once, both on our right and left, the often-described vision of the *mirage;* and frequently as its vanity and deception had been tested before by us on the plains of Upper India, we were even now half disposed to dispute whether it were or were not real water which we saw. Shortly after we beheld in truth a clump of trees surrounded by a mud wall garnished with towers, and on their left a double line or street of tents, a lofty flag-staff, and the British ensign flying. In a few minutes more we entered our encampment at Bushoree. I must mention, to the honour of my own Arab steed, that he carried me the whole distance from Rojhan, twenty-seven and a half miles, chiefly

at a brisk trot or canter, without betraying the slightest symptom of weariness or distress. We had halted an hour midway, and passed from camp to camp between three and eight o'clock A. M.

Under the wall of the town, or rather place of refuge from the plundering Belooches, we found the narrow-mouthed and deep pits, dignified with the name of wells, which had been sunk for the supply of the army. Sentries guarded them from all unauthorized interference, and a portion of them was left for two or three hours to fill again after being exhausted; whilst around the others eager and squabbling troopers and followers were dragging up muddy and sandy water in leathern *dols* or buckets, and brazen *lotas* or drinking-pots, and swallowing it with the air of men imbibing nectar; whilst *chursas*, imperfectly-tanned hides, which form a part of the equipment of carriage camels, were used as tolerable substitutes for troughs and cisterns in ministering to the wants of those animals and of horses. In the course of the evening reports came in from General Thackwell with the advance, announcing a better supply, but still no sufficiency of water at the villages and towns of Meerpore, Oostar, and Casim-kee-jhok. The pits or shafts sunk at Burshoree had now been

increased to sixty, and those at Meerpore to ninety; an improvement in the route from Shikarpore to Bhag and Dadur, which may hereafter cause many soldiers, travellers, and pilgrims, to think with gratitude of the passage of this army through Cutch Gundava, whatever may be the other results of the British expedition of 1839. The drain of Sebee was cut through on the 26th, but the stream of the Naree was found to be sluggish, and the ground, near the point where the waters escaped, so hard, and lower down, so absorbent, that it was evident from the first moment that many days must elapse before it would find its way through the artificial cuts, which were to conduct it to the neighbourhood of Burshoree, or before those, who march after us can hope to have, even so high as Meerpore, the satisfaction of hearing a rivulet murmur past their tents. This branch of the Naree, however, thus released, afterwards afforded abundant refreshment to our 4th brigade.

General Thackwell likewise gave us to understand that the Belooches had begun in earnest to make us acquainted with their talents as marauders, having carried off some of the camels and baggage of the lancers, and a few of the carriage animals of the general himself. On

reaching the little town of Meerpore we found Sir Alexander Burnes encamped in a tope under its walls. His presence almost always imparted an air of activity to our halting-places. He now brought us the news that a party of one hundred Jokranee Belooches had descended from the Hala or Brahoick range, and divided themselves into parties for the purpose of plundering and waylaying our baggage and followers. Precautionary measures for the safety of both were promptly adopted by all our columns: but on reaching Oostar on the 5th, ample proof was given us that the scouts of our negotiator had not deceived him; for his own courier had been stopped, stripped, and eased of his despatches on the road to Bhag. Water was at Oostar, as has already been explained, for the present abundant and the green crops, though only a few inches above the ground, afforded an acceptable, though not very wholesome, supply of forage for the horses. The *ryots* were scrupulously indemnified by government for the loss occasioned to them by thus anticipating nature's bounty. At Pooleejee, a few marches to the northward of Janeedera, the Belooches have a *gurhee* or fort, from which they issue to commit their depredations, and in which they bestow their plunder. We regretted that we could not

now command leisure to diverge for the purpose of carrying extermination into the recesses of this hornet's nest.

Head-quarters were fixed, on the 6th, at Bhag, where we came up once more with the general of cavalry. At this considerable town we found water in abundance, grain in sufficient quantities to supply immediate wants, and carrots, the only garden vegetable which we had seen since we left lower Sinde. These last furnished a luxurious repast to the chargers of officers. A brother of Mihrab Khan, of Kelat, resides in the town of Bhag. He is a man of the most debauched habits, and drunkenness has nearly ruined his intellects; but honouring him on account of his near relation to a potentate allied to us, Sir Willoughby Cotton courteously received his visit on the evening of the 6th, and returned it, at his residence in the town, on the morning of the 7th. Among other presents sent to the general, in return for those which he offered on the part of government, was a *suwarree* camel. We had heard much of the breed of animals of this kind in Cutch Gundava, but saw none to equal those of Upper India. Fresh instances of the audacity and success as foragers of the Belooches are now daily reported, followers are cut down and barbarously

murdered, camels carried off from our camps, and the line of march, and even the vicinity of our head-quarters insulted by the predatory inroads of these wretches.

The concentration of the cavalry brigade was completed at Bhag. Hence it is hoped that it may be able to move in a body to Dadur. We learnt here that the 1st brigade of infantry, under Brigadier Sale, had crossed the desert between Rojhan and Burshoree, without distress or difficulty, between ten P. M., on the night of the 5th, and eight A. M., on the morning of the 6th. We might, therefore, indulge in the pleasing belief that as the duty of pioneers had now been successfully performed by the vanguard of the force, the remainder of it would march, without interruption, from Shikarpore to Dadur. We saw at Bhag, for the first time, the bazaars covered over with a roof, a mode of building with which we afterwards became familiar in Affghanistan, but unknown in the provinces of British India. Head-quarters moved, on the 8th, to Muhesir, on the Bolan river. Never did the sun rise on a scene of more complete desolation than that which this part of Cutch Gundava presented to our view, when glimmering daylight first rendered the blaze of our torches no longer necessary. The tract between Rojhan

and Burshoree was not more veritably desert. The cavalry and horse artillery had preceded us by a full hour; but we overtook in about that time their baggage and rear-guard, and a valuable escort of treasure confided to a detachment of them. There was something picturesque in the long strings of camels and the mixed and motley line of followers struggling along the sandy road over a brown and dusty plain on which nature seemed to have inscribed the doom of perpetual solitude, but which the strange concurrence of events, under which the British had entered Cutchee, had thus peopled for a season. Shortly after we beheld the dome of a large tomb, and the mud towers and houses of Muhesir. There were a few fields of green corn in the immediate precincts of the place, a spectacle refreshing to the eye, wearied as it was with the gloomy sameness of the deserts which we had been traversing.

Intelligence here reached us of Lieutenant Pottinger's having had further cause to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Yar Mahomed Khan, the Wuzeer of Herat, and it was added in the same letters that the Persians were intriguing with the Heratees, and had offered Shah Kamran the restoration of Ghorian, and a subsidy of several lakhs on condition of his

uniting with them in a league against his uncle Shah Shooja. It may be supposed that the prospect of a change of affairs beyond the Helmund, unfavourable to the British interests, did not diminish our desire to hasten our advance through the Bolan pass.

The mountains which, from Bhag, bore the appearance of a single range, excepting when the strong light of the rising or setting sun rendered visible the intervals between their successive gradations, are from Muhesir clearly scanned as forming three several walls of enclosure to the Belooche provinces immediately around Kelat. During our march of the 6th, the highest summits before us appeared to be indented like a saw. We now saw little of the higher battlements of the third range, but the second bore the character of hills, lofty though not abrupt, whilst the nearer eminences were at length close enough to be recognised in the variety of their forms, some as conical and detached, some as undulating and connected.

It is to be hoped that the peasantry of this country will not suffer from the measure unwillingly resorted to, of using the green crops for forage for our cavalry horses. Yet it is to be feared they may. It is the custom of our government to cause ready money to be paid

by the officers of the quartermaster-general's department to the *Ryots* for all damage unavoidably done to the produce of their lands by troops in their marches through the British provinces. We have not departed from this equitable usage in Beloochistan. The compensation has been most ample, and counted down in specie to the peasants whose fields have been devastated to furnish a ration for the starving chargers of our mounted force, but there is reason to apprehend that the oppression of the Belooche rulers will defeat the benevolence and justice of our own. The agents of the former have already in many instances seized upon the unfortunate *juts* or cultivators, and forced from them, even in sight of our camp, the money thus rightfully and mercifully distributed to them. The population of the flat country between Shikarpore and Bhag are a meager and deeply sunburnt race. The Beloochs of Cutch Gundava, as well as those of Sinde, are men of martial appearance, wear the high hats seen in the territories of the Ameers, with curly beards and mustaches, and hair often hanging down in ringlets on their shoulders; but the agricultural peasant is commonly a wretched being. His air and manners are indicative of timidity, poverty seems to have paralyzed equally his bodily and mental powers,

filth reigns undisturbed on his person, on his scanty and ragged clothing, and within his dwelling, whilst in his complexion and haggard countenance is read the history of the overpowering heat and pestilential air of the plains of Cutchee from April to November.

Muhesir, as has been said before, is built on the left bank of one of the branches of the Bolan or Kanhee river, which flowing in a single narrow rivulet down the pass to which it gives a name, is divided into two streams on its reaching its mouth. Of these, one pursues its course due south and nearly parallel to the Brahoick range, passing through the villages of Muhesir, Kanhee, and Bhugaee, and the capital city of Gundava, below which it falls into the Naree ; the other flowing off towards the south-east joins its waters to the same river sixty miles higher up, near the hamlet of Eree, after having passed close under the walls of Dadur. The site of Muhesir is elevated. Near it the right bank of the Kanhee has generally the command, and is abrupt and shelving, the water being there deep, whilst the sinister margin is low, and the river on that side shoals. A little in advance of the town, on a retired spot in a bend of the *nulla*, our Head-quarter camp was fixed. On the plains to the eastward the tents of the cavalry brigade

were spread out, whilst one who looked westward from our flag-staff would see the several ranges of the Hala, dark and without trace of vegetation, and turning his face to the northward would perceive in prolongation of the road by which we had arrived at Muhesir, some detached hills of a sandy or clayey formation.

The march was commenced about three P. M. on the 10th. We of course set out in darkness as the sun does not in this latitude rise at this season before six. When we were enabled to dispense with the light of our torches, we found ourselves between two of the hills which we had observed to the northward the day before. They formed here a narrow pass, which was choked by a mass of led horses, camels, followers carrying *buenghees*,* doolies,† and palankeens, bullocks, mules, and asses, troopers and *suwars* guarding portions of this train, the quadrupeds roaring, neighing, bellowing, and braying, and the bipeds growling, vociferating, and abusing each other, and all struggling to get on. The hills, as we advanced, rose on either side in a perpendicular wall, in which no stone, however,

* Baskets covered with green waxed cloth, and slung in pairs across men's shoulders by means of a bamboo and multiplied strings.

† Litters for the sick, each carried by four men.

was to be discovered. It seemed to be a parapet of hardened clay, and reminded me of the only hilly boundary which I have elsewhere seen like to it, viz., the mural screen formed by nature, which he who shall sail or steam up or down the Jumna, between Allahabad and Agra, will behold on either side of him for full forty miles. As we rode forward the valley widened, and our road carried us into a deep ravine, from whence we saw again the Hala range before us, presenting for some miles a majestic front. Here we overtook the rear-guard and main body of our fine cavalry, the horses of which, improved on their two days luxury of green forage, were looking even sleek after all the dearth of water and scarcity of grass. We traversed with them a long valley, keeping the lofty mountains on our left, and a far lower range of hills on our right. In the plain between these two no green thing was to be seen excepting bushes of the wild caper, which at this season affords no sustenance to the camel, much less to horse or man. Before eight A. M. we had passed the little walled town of Noushuhra, between seven and eight miles from Dadur, and within a few hundred yards of it, in a country arid and most unpromising for cavalry, our camp was pitched. To our comfort, it was near one of those canals or

cuts dug in this part of Cutchee for the purposes of agricultural irrigation, in which a good supply of water was to be found.

In all the narratives, by which our march has been guided, Dadur has been correctly fixed as near the entrance of the pass of Bolan, or as natives call it, the *duhuni durru*, or mouth of the valley, which gives access from the plains of Cutch Gundava to the valley of Shawl; but it is to be remarked, that a force designing to penetrate in the direction indicated, will meet with a pass most defensible, and opening into a country of a most difficult character, only one hour's march from Muhesir; a thing to be noted by all future strategists who may have to move this way, unless they should be favoured, as we were, by being permitted to traverse the province without seeing an enemy able to confront them in the field. Major Leech, of the Bombay engineers, assistant to Sir Alexander Burnes, whilst employed in his mission to Cabul, in 1837, joined us here. To him is due the credit of most successfully countermining the Russian agent Vikovich, in his celebrated intrigue at Candahar; and he had since that period been employed, though, owing to the nature of the country, less felicitously, in collecting supplies in the vicinity of Sebee, Lheree, and Dadur,

towns of the north-eastern or more fruitful portion of Cutch Gundava. It will be remembered that it is of Sebee that Mr. Elphinstone records the national saying, which is however constantly applied to Dadur also.

اي خدا چون سيبي داشتي چرا دوزخ ساختي

The question imbodies rather a profane allusion to the extreme heat of these plains. As regards Dadur, we can testify from experience that it is no calumny, though we were there in the month of March. The remark may be thus translated:

"Since Sebee, good Lord, fries poor mortals so well
Why took'st thou the trouble to fabricate hell?"

Soon after the force reached Noushuḥra, from which there is another extensive view of the mountains, it began to blow with great violence from the north-west, which is the direction of the pass Bolan. The gale increased in fury every moment, driving clouds of dust into our tents; and it was not matter of much consolation to hear from Major Leech, that such tempests in this neighbourhood commonly last forty-eight hours. After midnight, the gusts were as fierce as if all the wrath of our enemies in Central Asia were concentrated in the breath

of this mountain wind, and poured forth at once through the gorge of the Durru. We expected every moment to see some of our canvass dwellings prostrated. The fall of a single poled tent is an unpleasant event for its tenant. Besides the inconvenience of losing the protection of a house above his head, especially in rain, it is far from improbable that the central pole in its descent may strike, and kill or maim him at the least, and even if he should escape this peril, it is difficult to imagine how he is to free himself from the overpowering weight of canvass, rope, and bamboo, included in two *kunats*, and a double *fly* even if dry, much more if wet. Timely and agile flight, therefore, seems to afford the only hope of shunning suffocation; but thus to escape is not always an easy matter, if *purdas* and *kunats* have all been strongly fastened down with pegs to keep out the inclement blast.

Having the dread of such an incident before my eyes during the storm at Noushuhra, I stationed four of the stoutest of my domestics with strict charge to hold up the wooden support of the dwelling, and having thus provided against the worst, slept or tried to sleep until the cavalry trumpets sounded. Be it remembered, that in all such cases, the danger must be espied far off and early precautions taken: for to call the

timid domestics, or followers of Hindoostan to your aid in time of actual peril, is only to add confusion to the scene; besides that no human lungs could hope to outroar the bellowing of the mountain blast. Major Leech appeared to have been quite correct in his meteoric calculation; for the same fierce wind smothered us with dust throughout our Sunday morning's march, made our bamboos, ropes, and canvass shiver like aspen-leaves during the whole of the day, and only sunk to rest towards the dawn of Monday morning.

Notwithstanding the hurlyburly of the weather, we moved at five A.M. and in less than two hours were at Dadur. We had crossed more than once on our route the Eastern branch of the Kanhee or Bolan rivulet, and now saw it flowing through a deep and rather picturesque ravine, fringed with high reeds and groves of the jujube and the neem tree (*Zizyphus jujuba* and *melia azadyrachta*), under the high mud-wall of a town of one thousand houses, and perhaps four thousand inhabitants. The tomb of a native of the place, of some note and opulence, who was murdered a few years ago in the defiles of the Bolan, and the gardens which surround this monument so characteristic of a Belooche town, attract attention on approaching it from Noushuhra.

The plains around are well cultivated, and fine young crops of wheat and barley on the ground already gave us promise of a harvest which might hereafter be made available to enrich the magazines of our force. But we learnt at the same time, with feelings of painful disappointment, that all the tact, industry, colloquial command of the Persian, and local knowledge of Major Leech, had not enabled him to collect for us at Dadur supplies of grain of any importance. To the westward of the town the Brahoick mountains are seen as before in triple range. From Dadur, which is about five miles distant from their foot, they present the appearance of a denuded mass of hardened clay. Amongst the hills of the nearest line is remarked a small hut or low edifice, and behind it we now discerned with difficulty with the naked eye, but distinctly through our telescopes, a little opening, which those who knew the country assured us was no other than the gorge of that pass, so much talked of in Hindoostan during the last two years. Behold then, at length after a march of four months and two days from Kurnal, and of three months from Ferozepore, the gateway of the Bolan!

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. The prompt advance of the Bengal force from Shikarpore merits special commendation. Napoleon has said that "the general who listens to the objections of his commissaries and surgeons, will never move at all;" and without disparagement to either branch of the profession adverted to in the remark, it must be acknowledged that there is in it much valuable truth. The views of the officers of these departments, with us at least, are commonly a little too partial and exclusive. They speak as if plans of campaign were wholly based on hospital returns, or calculations of rations, apart from all other considerations.

A variety of plausible arguments were used in February, 1839, in favour of a protracted halt on the right bank of the Indus. The necessity was urged of previously increasing the magazines at Shikarpore, and of allowing the corn throughout Cutch Gundava to ripen before any advance should be attempted. But, first, it was important to anticipate our foes in Affghanistan and reach the northern gorge of the Bolan pass before they could organize any effectual resistance. Secondly, as the force under the immediate command of Sir John Keane, was advancing up

the right bank of the Indus, it was advisable that one large division of the army should clear Cutch Gundava before another entered on it; for it should be remarked, that the routes of the province had at this time been very imperfectly reconnoitred, and perhaps the only fact which had been fully ascertained regarding Cutchee was, that its northern division yielded smaller means of subsistence for troops than had been originally hoped, and its southern next to nothing. It was highly inexpedient, therefore, that it should be traversed at one and the same time by the contingents of both presidencies and the army of Shah Shooja. Thirdly, the immediate advance of Sir Willoughby Cotton, thoughtlessly blamed as precipitate, secured to the *élite* of the Bengal force the undeniable advantage of passing the desert at a healthy season.

2°. It was necessary, nevertheless, that the line of communication should be preserved between the passes of the mountains of Beloochistan and the banks of the Indus. The contingent of the Shah was therefore left for some weeks at Shikarpore, whilst measures were in progress for increasing its means of transport. It was there supported by the 2nd Bengal brigade, and formed a connecting link with Bukkur, then

garrisoned by the 35th regiment N. I. An opportunity too was thus afforded of improving the discipline of the Hindoostanee army of the royal candidate for regained sovereignty, which was certainly not neglected by its officers.

3°. Let not the obstacles to the march across the plains of Cutch Gundava ever be described as trifling. The carriage animals of the Bengal force were not more than sufficient to convey an adequate supply of provisions, when first they crossed the Indus. Here a mortality commenced amongst them, of which the causes and beginning were well known; but the extent and result of which could not by anticipation be fully estimated, whilst to meet the exigences of the Shah's contingent, and of the Bombay force, which last, as has been seen, left its own presidency without any cattle at all, and had, whilst in Sinde, been able to procure but few, it had become necessary to keep a reserve of three thousand camels at Shikarpore. The Bengal force had indeed a month's provisions on its carriage animals, when it reached Dadur, but with advertence to the length of the line, on which it was preparing to operate, this was a slender supply. At Bhag and Dadur, where it had expected to find much, little or nothing had been collected. The scarcity of forage and

water between Rojhan and Oostar was appalling. It was the prompt yet cautious and judicious manner, in which Sir Willoughby Cotton disseminated his force, and the persevering reconnoissances which he caused his staff officers to push in various directions, combined with the personal activity of Sir Alexander Burnes, and the intuitive knowledge which he displayed of the character both of rulers and people in Cutch Gundava, which enabled the Bengal troops to pass the desert, without serious disaster of any kind. When Shah Shooja, in his attempt to regain his empire in 1834, reached Rojhan, men and animals of his unwieldy and disorderly force were seen licking the mud to obtain one drop of moisture even in the most disgusting form, and expiring around its wells in fearful numbers. The passage of the same tract in 1839, was the triumph of European tact and forethought.

4°. At the time of our arrival at Bhag it had been proposed to government to give two lakhs of rupees annually to Mihrab Khan of Kelat, by way of binding him to us with a golden cord, and Meer Hussun Khan, his Wuzeer, who was received in durbar by Sir Willoughby Cotton on the same day, on which the return visit was paid to the Khan's brother in Bhag, not only referred to these expectations, but to certain hopes which

he also himself entertained of some peculiar marks of British favour. The general of course referred him to the envoy and minister. It is difficult to ascertain exactly when the treachery of the ruler of Beloochistan commenced; for it is possible, that before he took a decided part against us, the predatory disposition of his subjects may have outrun the determinations of his policy; and perhaps to their cupidity and not his perfidy, we owed the harassing attacks made on stragglers, convoys, and couriers, in our progress through Cutch Gundava. Be this as it may, these hostile efforts are not to be forgotten in forming an estimate of the difficulties of the advance from the Indus to Dadur.

CHAPTER VI.

Advance from Dadur—Sir John Keane assumes the command of the whole force—Passage of the Bolan pass—Heavy fall of rain—Main portion of the Bengal force concentrated at Siriah—Actual and apprehended scarcity—Bengal head-quarters fixed at Kwettah—Necessities of the force—Skirmishing—Sir John Keane at Beebee Nanee—Encamps at Siriah—Arrives at Kwettah—Observations.

WHERE mountain warfare was to be expected, it was necessary to await the closing of our infantry columns. Meanwhile, Major Cureton, of the 16th Lancers, was selected for the duty of reconnoitring the Bolan pass from Dadur to Kwettah, the capital of the Belooche province of Shawl. His force consisted of a troop of his own regiment, and three companies of native infantry. Sir Alexander Burnes accompanied him, and the sappers and miners and engineer department following his move-

ment were directed to use every effort to improve the route. The major's daily reports, as well as those of his political associate, were perused with much interest at Dadur. That town is surrounded by a ruined wall, and the *plateau* to the westward of it, and the ravine and mountain rivulet to the southward form a military position of considerable strength, but useless to us, who had encamped on plains yet further to the southward, looking full at the mountains, which barred our passage to the land to which we had been charged to restore a king.

Whilst we thus paused, our 1st and 4th brigades were pressing on. The former crossed the desert from Rojhan to Burshoree, at night, in seven hours and twenty-three minutes, and reached Dadur on the 14th March. Sir John Keane, having surmounted the difficulties which retarded his progress at the Lukhee* pass, and advanced through Sehwun, reached Larkhanu on the 4th, on which day his fleet also anchored off Roree. Being thus placed in full communication with a portion of the Bengal force, Sir John proceeded formally to assume the command of the army of the Indus, partitioned its

* *Lukh* signifies a pass in the vernacular language of Beloochistan.

infantry into a Bengal and Bombay division, the one commanded by Sir Willoughby Cotton, and the other by Major-general Willshire ; its cavalry, under the command of General Thackwell, being made in like manner to consist of two brigades, designated as belonging to their respective presidencies, and led by brigadiers Arnold and Scott, and the chief command of the whole of the artillery devolving upon brigadier Stevenson. The 1st, or Bengal division of infantry, continued as before to be divided into three brigades, denominated the 1st, 2nd, and 4th. A new organization was carried into effect of the 2nd, or Bombay division. Its 1st brigade was now made to consist of the 2nd, or Queen's regiment, and her Majesty's 17th foot, and was brought subsequently under the charge of brigadier Baumgardt, 2nd lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd, or Queen's, and the 1st, 5th, and 23rd regiments of Bombay native infantry formed the 2nd brigade, which was commanded by brigadier Gordon. One of these lastmentioned regiments relieved the 35th Bengal native infantry, and became the garrison of Bukkur, which had been made the grand depot of the army. The remainder of the brigade was cantoned on the heights of Sukkur.

Under these new arrangements, the general staff of each presidency was to confine itself as much as possible to the details of its own contingent; all orders extending in their application to both forces being issued by Colonel Macdonald, military secretary to Sir John Keane, who in such cases stood in the position of chief of the staff of the whole army. The two commissariats were also to be blended into one department of two branches, both of which were to be under the control of Major Parsons, the Bengal deputy commissary-general. Meanwhile the Belooches were fully sustaining their character as well-trained freebooters. Daily and hourly reports reached us of their captures and atrocities. Our dawks and couriers were intercepted, our stragglers and followers barbarously murdered, and no officer could venture to any distance from his encampment without the protection of an escort. The case of Lieutenant Fenwick, her Majesty's 13th, is selected as one out of a great number by way of illustrating the spirit, at once ferocious and dastardly, by which these marauders were animated. He was acting as quartermaster to his regiment, and on the 8th March had proceeded about two miles in advance of his corps for the purpose of marking out the ground for its encampment.

He was accompanied by a single, unarmed private, and was himself mounted upon a hill pony. A quarter of a mile before him he saw a party of marauders busily employed in stripping some camp followers. He instantly rode after them, when this gallant detachment, seven in number, fairly fled before him. A *suwar* of the irregular horse, who was moving in the same direction, aided in the pursuit; him the most active of the Belooches shot through the arm, and the robber was himself wounded in the head by Lieutenant Fenwick, the dull edge of whose weapon but ill seconded the resolution with which he had, against such odds, rescued the unfortunate stragglers. Some of this party of brigands were afterwards seized, and punished by a military tribunal.

Whilst we remained at Dadur the skies were occasionally overcast, and we became anxious observers of the weather, knowing that heavy rain might swell the Bolan stream into a torrent, sweep away perhaps our encampments, and render the defile impracticable. We felt too that we had a different task before us from that of marching down the left bank of the Indus, where each halting-place had its magazine. Not only were we now assured that no supplies had been collected at a single station within or

beyond the pass, but that the mountains could not afford either grass for our horses, or forage of any description for our camels. Nevertheless, Sir Willoughby Cotton, feeling that delay would only reduce lower our small stock of provisions, and convinced that grain to any considerable amount could not now be procured at Dadur or from Lheree, Sebee, Bhag, or that vicinage, directed on the 14th March the leading column, consisting of the horse artillery, the 2nd light cavalry, her Majesty's 13th light infantry, and the 48th regiment native infantry, to advance into the *durru*.

This movement had to be delayed one day in consequence of the desertion, in a body, of the dooly bearers of the 13th. These men, who carry the sick in Indian marches, may be reckoned amongst the most useful of the various classes of camp followers. Unfortunately they are also remarkable for contumacy and perverseness, and adopting and cherishing sentiments of causeless alarm and discontent. Those of the 13th now finding themselves on the point of entering the gorge of a defile, which their fears painted as the valley of destitution and despair, and from the closed jaws of which they thought that there would be no mode of escape to their native land, suffered

their minds to be worked up to a pitch of intolerable apprehension, and made off, in a body, in the direction of the town of Lheree, leaving the medical department to devise the means of carrying forty sick men whom they thus coolly abandoned. An active pursuit, however, and measures, at once mild and firm, brought them back to their duty, and before daylight, on the 15th, the column was put in motion. Those which followed were, like this van, composed of troops of all three arms, and due proportions of European and native soldiers were blended in each.

The staff forded by torchlight, on the 16th, the Kanhee or Bolan *nulla*, and as the day broke, a nearer view was obtained of the remains of a ruined village, one of the huts of which had so often served as a landmark to direct the eye to the opening of the defile as seen from Dadur. Passing onwards by a perfectly level but very stony road, they soon after found on both sides of them mountains of a formation which the geologists of the party pronounced to be *pudding-stone*, shutting in a valley of from four to five hundred yards in width, crossed at intervals by the stream of the Kanhee. In fording it, however, the water did not rise higher than the horses' knees. The

vale was overgrown with high reeds, but neither bush nor tree was visible. At Drubbee, where the first encampment of our sappers had been fixed, we came upon a prize for our grass-cutters in a little plain of verdant and nutritive herbage, about three hundred yards in length, and occupying the whole breadth between the hills. To these succeeded rank and waving reeds, and loose pebbles, and absolute sterility. A mile further on is an opening in the mountains, which Major Leech assured us gave access by a shorter route to Kirtah, our second halting-place.

We had moved on at a foot pace until nearly eight A. M. without seeing a living thing, excepting here and there an abandoned camel, with perhaps a *surwan*, or other follower, striving in vain to get him up, when we espied before us near a spot where the rocks assumed picturesque forms, a long string of commissariat animals, which had left camp at midnight, and wheeling to our right, found the valley in which we were to rest for the day. We had now the new task of pitching tents amongst rocks; and fixing our pegs by first driving into the sand amidst the hard round pebbles, a large iron style with a ring at the top of it. The valley was at this moment so silent, that we heard the rivulet

which we had nine times crossed during the morning, brawling over the stones in its passage; but in another hour the Durru was noisy and well peopled; for the two half-brigades had reached a point a quarter of a mile from the spot where our flag was displayed, and their tents were spread in the sun, and their pickets were posted, and their followers dispersed in vociferous parties on every side in search of grass, and fuel, and fodder for camels: and troops of these useful animals were seen pursuing their way in long lines only to meet with the disappointment of having to put up with reeds and long coarse grass, instead of the leaves and branches which they love, and of which they had found such abundance at Dadur.

Our reports from the advance yesterday, spoke of the Sirdars of Candahar having arranged all the differences which had existed between them, united their resources, and moved out of the city with a view of opposing our further progress. This, as they can advance rapidly with their bodies of irregular horse, was, as Sir A. Burnes styled it, "startling intelligence," seeing that we were yet close to the southward gorge of the pass, and had a full week's work before us in our attempts to clear the

valley. To-day letters have been received from the *ukhbar nuweesan*, intelligence writers, or secret agents at Candahar of the political department, to the same effect, but dashed with doubt. The Sirdars have been making preparations for defence, but it is not clear that these will issue in any thing but vapouring and renewed altercations.

"E'en Sunday shines no sabbath-day to us." We were on the saddle before five A. M. The preceding evening had been fine, though sultry, and we had hoped for dry weather; but now there was a lowering darkness all around, which we feared could hardly portend good, and accordingly we had scarcely ridden on half a mile, when the rain began to descend, first in large drops, and then in a pelting shower. Ever and anon the rivulet came across our path, and by the torchlight we saw its struggling waters around our horses' legs, as we crossed fords not exceeding from a foot and a half to two feet in depth, and perceived that the valley had narrowed to two hundred, one hundred, sixty, and fifty yards, at which distances crags were seen gloomily elevating themselves above our heads, whilst the rain dashed across them in oblique lines. The road was of the same character as

before. It lay over a plain of loose stones, amongst which tufts of grass and high reeds were the only specimens of vegetation.

The rain now fell so heavily, that it was thought necessary to send back an officer to halt at the head of the column until daylight, without the advantage of which, a mountain-stream swelled even to three feet in depth, might prove an embarrassing obstacle. The officers of our *suwaree*, who all rode without cloaks in imitation of our leader, who happened to have left his own behind, were of course drenched to the skin, and became rather colder towards the conclusion of the morning's work, than old Indians reckon on feeling in March. We crossed the Bolan stream sixteen times between Kohun Dulan and Kirtah. At one ford only we found two feet and a half of water, or something more. Reports from the vanguard had called the extreme depth three feet; but the weather had been dry, and the stream might have fallen a little since that party passed it. That amount of water would have rendered it necessary to take the ammunition-boxes off the carriages of artillery, which never in fact became requisite in this *durru*. I estimate the extreme breadth of the vale which we traversed during the earlier part of the morning at five hundred yards,

but within two miles of Kirtah, about a mile and a half from which our camp was pitched, it suddenly expanded to from three to four miles.

The Belooche chief of the village, which is at some distance from the road, came to the general's tent, and he was propitiated by a present of fifty-one rupees, and a *loongee*, and went home probably as much our friend as a plunderer by habit and education was likely to become. It is bare justice to him to mention that we afterwards heard that he had religiously abided by his pacific engagements, and caused no annoyance to any of the columns, which followed us, until the troops of one of them unjustifiably made free with the timbers of the huts in his little hamlet. This favour he repaid, as was to be expected, with prolonged rapine and outrage.

The difficulty which we had last encountered, was the lack of water; we now dreaded its superabundance. The evening was cloudy; and when night set in, we heard the rain pouring down at a piteous rate upon the *flies* of our tents. The widened plain in which we had sat down, was like the narrower valleys, one unvarying surface of pebbles and larger stones, washed down from the mountains. Not feeling

our canvass houses secure, where it was so difficult to drive their pegs home, we had recourse to the expedient often before tried, of fastening the ropes to large masses of rock, and piling stones upon them with the view of steadying them. After all precautions, our anchorage could hardly be deemed safe, as the rain continued to descend in torrents, and the wind occasionally freshened. It was a relief, when daylight reappeared, to see to our astonishment the ground all around us free from water after a fall of ten hours, so absorbent beyond all calculation had the sand proved. No visible change had been effected by the rain beyond converting a bed of dry into a valley of wet pebbles; and we rallied each other as some confessed that during the night they had fancied that they had heard a torrent roaring past the doors of the tents, and others that they had rushed out in darkness and cold to ascertain the truth. The officers at head-quarters might be in the humour to laugh at the remembrance of such a night, but it had been a more serious, and somewhat dismal matter for the pickets, sentries, and patrols of the camp, and for the guards and followers, who had proceeded in defiance of the wandering Belooches to the

next ground with our advanced tents and baggage.

Five had been fixed for the march to Beebee Nanee, but as the heavy fall had continued with little interruption until after seven, and had increased the weight of our tents to a serious amount, it seemed prudent to pause. An officer of the quartermaster-general's department rode back to ascertain to what extent the deepest ford of yesterday was swollen. The rain slackened, but the mountains on either side were concealed by curtains of rolling mist, the lower folds of which depended into the plain, and above these vapours were seen clouds of the darkest hue. Still we could not afford to lose a day, even although the river, which we knew we had once to cross in advance, should have deepened considerably. Finally, the troops were ordered to march at eight, and head-quarters were put in motion at seven.

Our progress was favoured beyond expectation; we suffered little annoyance from rain, and found the river near Beebee Nanee swollen indeed, and rushing down with great rapidity but easily fordable. Our route had lain as yesterday, and the day before, over loose stones, and up an acclivity scarcely perceptible. We had hitherto been surprised at the ease with

which we were gradually surmounting so considerable a range as the Brahoick mountains. As we advanced from Kirtah, the valley had widened to, I think, a space of not fewer than ten miles, but it will give a notion of the vagueness of such estimates, when I mention that some officers of the party guessed it at five, others as low as three. Suddenly we came upon a breach in the natural wall on our left of not more than fifteen yards in breadth. On passing through it we found ourselves in another valley not exceeding four miles in width. The mountains, between the two great outlets of the Bolan *durru*, which are said to be composed of pudding-stone, limestone, and conglomerate, closed in upon us as we approached the termination of this day's march, and near the point at which we had to cross the river, now foaming and rapid but not deep, the lofty rocks on the sinister side came down to the very edge of the stony track, and were abruptly met by their brethren on the opposite hand at the distance of perhaps three hundred yards. Thus is formed the pass of Beebee Nanee celebrated for bandit atrocities. In the face of the rocks are numerous caverns, from which doubtless the Belooche plunderers watch their opportunity of attacking ill-armed *kafilas*, and

single travellers. Our cavalry was pitched on the right bank of the rivulet, westward of the gorge; the infantry proceeded onward to their ground in a valley on the left bank, and on that side of the river also, but nearer to it, and close under the crags, which form the eastward portions of the lofty gateway, we found our own *peesh khuemu* already pitched, our flag-staff reared, and our wearied and drenched followers and sipahees drying their clothes amongst the rocks, or as individual taste dictated, seeking the refreshment of sleep, or the restorative of smoking their *goorgoorees*, after their harassing night march.

At Kirtah we had seen a considerable portion of the higher Brahoick range capped with snow. The mountains around us this morning were not thus silvered, but the air was cool and bracing as we moved on, and continued so even when the clouds broke away, and for a short hour or two we enjoyed the sunshine, which began to diminish the damp of our drenched *kunauts*. Here then we have reached our third encampment in the *durru*. Our fourth is to be fixed at Abigoom. About two miles from the road near Kirtah a tepid spring is found in the mountain-side. Near the equinox in a lofty region, we had every reason to look

for rain, and it has by no means taken us by surprise, but justly regarding its fall as one of the most unpleasing accompaniments of an Indian march, most of our party have remembered to-day not without expressions of gratitude, that we had marched from Kurnaul to Dadur almost without being subjected to the sprinkling of a shower. The irregular horse attached to the first brigade skirmished with a party of Belooche plunderers at a late hour last night between Kirtah and Kohun Dulan. Several shots were exchanged, but the irregulars had no casualties, and the darkness prevented them from ascertaining whether they inflicted any loss.

The pass of Beebee Nanee with its overhanging rocks, under which the figures of travellers and pilgrims are seen reclining, and its rushing, gurgling stream, may themselves be esteemed picturesque, although mountain and valley are alike devoid of every trace of verdure, the reeds and withered shrubs being gray not green, but the defile was seen to peculiar advantage this morning at the moment at which the 13th passed it. They halted a few moments to close up the rear of their column after crossing the *nulla*, and then advanced by bugle signal, which rung amidst the caverns and lofty peaks. They

formed, during their short pause of rest, finely-grouped figures in the mountain picture, and these soldiers with their shoes off, and trousers tucked up to the knees after fording, thei bronzed countenances, and drenched and faded uniforms, recalled those ideas of active service, which a long period of inactivity in cantonments had banished.

The sky was lowering nearly throughout the day, and as the sun declined, our attention was strongly attracted towards one extremity of the valley, which opens to the view beyond the pass of Beebee Nanee. The road, which must be traversed to reach Affghanistan by the shortest line runs nearly northward, but exactly in the direction of the setting orb were seen two masses of mountain, which might truly be called grand. Just over the peak of one, and in the opening between the two, the rays of the sun were seen struggling through the dense and threatening clouds, in which another tempest seemed to be in preparation for us. The chasm which we saw thus surrounded by the terrors of a coming storm, is topographically important. It is the gorge of the lateral pass or Kotul, which leads upon Kelat. It is known by the name of the *Rood-i-buhar*, or valley of spring.

Our camp was visited by a thunder-storm about 8 P.M., the rain, though heavy, did not continue long, but about an hour after midnight, the wind was pouring down through the pass of Beebee Nanee in the same tremendous gusts, under which we had found it so difficult to keep our tents standing at Noushuhra and Dadur. Long before the signal to march, it became plain to me that my good and strong single-poled tent, built by the most superior manufacturer in India, of the best materials, would not long resist the tempest, which now howled round its canvass walls. I hastily equipped myself in readiness to turn out, and soon after I was fairly on my feet beyond the doorway, a rude blast swept upward from the restraining pegs one side of the outer *kunaut*. The air being thus admitted, it was soon seen that all the efforts of my whole establishment, eighteen in number, would not long suffice to keep the pole in its perpendicular. After prolonging the contest for some minutes I perceived that there was nothing for it, but hastening the crisis by letting all go. Down came the edifice "*by the run*," with a sufficiently rude crash to the peril of the baggage piled beneath, and of one or two domestics caught as in a trap within the folds of *dosootee*. No serious injury

was however sustained by the crew of the dismantled vessel.

The light of torches was a luxury not to be enjoyed in such a tempest. The *suwarree* therefore waited for daylight; then mounting their horses, and facing the howling wind, the party proceeded onwards in the path, which the columns had already taken. When the shades of darkness were dispersed, we saw with pleasure that the wind had driven every cloud from the skies directly above our head. All was clear blue too over the hills on either side, though the folds of a heavy white curtain still rested on the tops of a really majestic range, which after a ride of a few minutes, we saw full before us. On the sides and tops of these mountains was visible a thick coating of snow. The air was cold, and there was a sensible elevation in the spirits of the whole party. The acclivity throughout the march of ten miles, was far more considerable than it had been since our entrance of the pass, and the road was strewed with dead and dying animals, and with baggage and portions of tents, which their owners in our advance had been compelled to abandon.

Arrived at the halting-place named Abigoom or "lost water," we were informed that the

camp of the sappers had been swept away by a torrent, which had suddenly descended from the mountains into a portion of the valley that had been quite dry when the tents were pitched on it. This accident had compelled the engineers to halt twenty-four hours, and thus increased the interval between them and Major Cureton. The thermometer at 9 P.M. stood here at 58°. At midnight despatches were received from Sir John Keane, dated Larkhanu, 5th March. Lieutenant Eastwick, assistant to Colonel Pottinger, had been appointed to the civil charge of Sinde; and was to reside generally at Bukkur, moving occasionally, however, to Shikarpore and Khyrpore. Sir John being in communication with the Shah, his contingent was about to advance through Cutch Gundava by the road previously reconnoitred by Lieutenant Moffat, and by which the Shah had returned in 1834, after his disasters at Candahar. It passes through Gundava, the capital of the province, in a line parallel to the Hala range, continues along the bank of the western branch of the Kanhee or Bolan stream, and then strikes off to Bagh and Dadur. A reconnoissance was at this time conducted by order of Sir John Keane by Captain Sidney Powell, his excellency's Persian interpreter,

some marches up the Gundava pass, which intersects the Brahoick range, and leads full on the capital of Mihrab Khan. It was judged to be impracticable for artillery, and the plan of an advance in that direction was abandoned.

We started to-day under auspicious circumstances as to weather. Though it had blown all night, the wind evidently lulled towards morning as it had done at Dadur, and we had a clear and cloudless sky during the starlight before dawn, as well as after daylight. The thermometer was at the commencement of our march at 52°, and did not rise higher in our tents than 64°. The task of the morning was to make our way up to the base of the range, which we had seen before us yesterday, and of which the summits were covered with snow. The ascent was far steeper than it had hitherto been, and though it could not be called painful to infantry or cavalry, yet to the horses of the artillery it was trying. We passed the spot which is denominated the *Qutlgah*, or place of slaughter, from the circumstance of the barbarous murder of a whole kafila, nor did we halt near the single date-tree on the road-side, which gives to the spot the title of "*Siri Kujoor*" or "the head of the date-tree," but moved on three

miles further to the point, where on the left of the *durru* the clear water of the Bolan stream gushes forth from its parent fountains. The halting-place is hence called "*Siri Bolan,*" or the head of the Bolan or Kanhee.

A report was here received from Sir Alexander Burnes, proving that nothing is at present to be apprehended from the opposition of the Candahar rulers. Not only have they not sent a single soldier into the valleys of Shawl or Pesheen, but they have not yet even succeeded in organizing a force for the defence of Candahar The three brothers Kohun Dil Khan, Ruheem Dil Khah, and Miher Dil Khan, have met together, and as is usual with them vapoured and talked loudly of joint contributions from their private fortunes, and powerful armaments, and concluded by quarrelling, and breaking up the conference.

We rose this morning with the arduous task before us of threading the last defiles of the Bolan, by far the most difficult of the whole Weather, by the blessing of Providence, favoured us. Nearly all the snow had melted from the summits of the range above Siri Bolan, the skies were clear, and the fierce winds of these mountains, lulled on the 20th, had not risen again. The cold was severe at daybreak, and

even at midday the glare of the sun not overpowering. It was arranged that the baggage should be put in motion at the earliest dawn, so that the whole might reach the spot whence the columns were to debouche into the plains beyond, and pass it, before the troops could arrive at it. The soldiers' tents having thus been sent on in advance they made their morning's meal on their ground at Siri Bolan, and then awaited in the stony valley, without protection from the sun, the order to move forward, which was given at half-past twelve. The Head Quarter staff got in motion between nine and ten.

The valley at Siri Bolan runs about north-west, but above that point it bends round more to the westward. After following its course for about two miles, troops will find themselves at the mouth of a defile, which is certainly picturesque, but which a soldier must regard as a terrific obstacle. The mountains, rising on either side, confine a column of route, within a space just sufficient for its head, on a stony road, the windings of which might be defended by traverses, whilst ever so few Belooche marksmen might cause a severe loss to the best troops, by opening a fire from the lateral summits, and even unarmed peasants might do

no small damage by rolling down crags on their advancing enemies. We rode on for two hours through the narrow pass at a foot pace. Its sides wore an air of grandeur, and even of beauty; though no vegetation is seen on them, excepting a very few stunted trees growing here and there out of the rocks with twisted roots denuded of one half of the small portion of earth, which had originally afforded them nutriment. Escaped from the sinuosities of this close defile, troops find beyond it wider space for exertion, manœuvre, and self-defence, but the valley is still hemmed in by commanding heights. At Doosan-ka-moo there was, when we passed it, a very small supply of muddy water in a reservoir on the right side of the road.

But the gorge of the Bolan is two full miles beyond this, and by it we must have debouched, if our engineers had not abridged this part of our labours by cutting with much exertion a shorter route for us into the plain up the northern face of the mountains. An old pathway had been discovered here, and it had been rendered less steep by digging down the level, and a narrow *sentier* of three feet had been widened into a road of twelve by blasting the rocks. The last explosion was heard when we

were about two miles from the spot. Still, when we reached this *sortie*, we found its ascent arduous enough to constitute a serious obstacle to the progress of camels heavily laden, and sadly jaded and worn down by long marches and scanty fodder. We were unwilling to impede their progress by availing ourselves of the new road, up which they were toiling, but scrambled up the side of the valley in its original ruggedness of feature. In effecting this the Arab horse, on which I rode, once came on his knees, but was pulled on to his feet again without mischief. The rest of our party had with more prudence dismounted. Reaching the summit we looked down upon the *Dusht-i-bee-doulut*, rendered so familiar to us by the narrative of Connolly and the map of Macartney, an extensive plain stretched out at our feet not only devoid of dwellings, without trees, without grass, but dark or rather black in its barrenness, and shut in on every side by mountains bleak and solemn, on the top of the highest of which were long streaks of snow. Yet the view might lay claim to a character of beauty, though of a peculiar kind. The hills by which the *dusht* was girded in were of striking outline, albeit condemned to perpetual sterility, and there was a majesty in the silence of the vast dead level as

the mountains cast their shadows over the dark carpet of its withered herbage. To us also, after being pent in for a week by precipices confronting each other, it was a relief to look upon a plain of any kind.

At the top of the Engineers' road the staff stationed themselves, and were busied for three hours in superintending the ascent of the cumbrous train of baggage. It was a singular, but painful sight to behold the heavy-laden camels, animals, which never feel at home but on a plain and on soft ground, toiling up this rocky steep, crowded in double and triple line, as their *surwans* pressed them on. Many sunk under their burdens, so travel-bated and outworn, that neither the imprecations nor blows of their drivers, or of the soldiers or sipahees of the baggage guards, could rouse them again until their loads were taken off their backs. Many, even when thus relieved, could not be got up, but continued to choke the road. By great exertion, however, the whole mass of baggage was brought through the *durru*, and on to the plain beyond it, before the troops had reached the gorge. Thus they were enabled to move on with the certainty that their front was free from living obstructions, and when we ourselves had ridden on to our encampment three

miles in advance upon the *dusht*, we had the pleasure of learning that the two half-brigades, and all the guns and carriages of the horse artillery had conquered the ascent, and were marching on to join us.

We discovered, as we passed over the plain, that its only herbage consisted of a low aromatic plant, the stems and higher twigs of which were dry and crackling, but the lower leaves yet green if not very succulent. We at first pronounced it to be wild thyme; but it was afterwards more generally believed by the uninitiated to be southernwood (*artemisia abrotanum*). Fortunately, though its shoots emitted a strong odour, and were pungent to the taste, our hungry camels consented in the absence of every other verdant thing to eat them, though apparently not with much relish. Arrived on the *dusht*,* we perceived that a further advance to Siriab before nightfall was impracticable, and indeed had reason to congratulate ourselves on the success of the arrangements, which had brought the first column with its baggage and artillery between daybreak and sunset from Siri Bolan fairly into the "*Unhappy Plain.*" In

* This and the word *put* in the following page mean desert. The former is Persian; the latter, I believe, a vocable belonging to the vernacular idiom of the Brahoic Belooches.

the pass we had been disposed to murmur at the heavy falls of rain; but we now saw what good service they had done us in filling with water, muddy indeed, but most acceptable, a reservoir of clay on the *dusht* about one hundred feet in length, ten in breadth, and two and a half in depth. This was certainly a scanty supply for the troops and animals, which had now only begun to pour down from the *durru*; but hungry and thirsty men, who desired to cook, and longed to drink on any terms, felt it to be inestimable. Our camp was of course pitched near this diminutive tank, and sentries having been promptly placed over it, and every precaution taken to ensure the husbanding of its resources, it proved a blessing indeed to our Bengal columns. The troops which followed us had dry weather in the *durru*, but no water at our haltingplace, and suffered the torments of thirst, when they debouched upon the *put*.

The camp of the engineers, who had been employed to the last moment in clearing our path, was pitched near our tents, which we found ready for our reception after a day of no small labour and exposure to the sun and vicissitudes of weather. Our scientific officers warned us, that the night before, the quicksilver

had fallen on the plain to 26°. We felt the cold to be extreme, but did not experience so sudden and violent a change of temperature. As we got under canvass the thermometer was at 34°, and it had risen to 38°, when we prepared to leave our tents the next morning. The result of repeated experiments appears to be that the plain of the Dusht-i-bee-doulut is upwards of five thousand feet above the level of the sea.

A little before daylight, on the 22nd, we began to traverse the "Dusht-i-bee-doulut," or "Unhappy *desert*," as the title literally signifies. We were well pleased to see once more soft clay and sand under the feet of our horses and camels, instead of loose pebbles, or hard limestone rock. I must not here forget to mention the crimson and yellow tulips, and specimens of a peculiar kind of iris, which grow in great numbers amongst the acrid plants of this plain, and contribute to impart an air of gaiety where every thing else wears a sombre hue. The morning was bitterly cold, and we marched fifteen miles and three-quarters before we reached our halting-ground at Siriab. Our tents were, for the first time, pitched near one of those singular contrivances for the irrigation

of the country so well described in the works of Mr. Elphinstone and Lieutenant Pottinger,* and which are called in Affghanistan and Beloochistan, *kahreezes,* and in Persia, *kunats.* They may be defined to be artificial rivulets, formed by sinking a succession of wells on a gradual declivity, and letting the water from a spring-head in the neighbouring hills or mountains, together with all that which may have been found at the bottom of the several shafts, flow in one stream along the bed of a subterranean canal to a point in the plain, where it is allowed to issue. The agricultural aqueduct of the Siriab Kahreez, near which we halted this morning, afforded us a very ample supply of tolerable water.

We were now ten miles only from Kwettah, in the valley of Shawl, where the little camp of our vanguard, under Major Cureton, had been some days fixed. With him and Sir Alexander Burnes, we communicated this morning, and being now fairly established on the plains, and learning that all was tranquil in our front, we awaited at Siriab the further progress of the columns in our rear. Meanwhile the accounts from Candahar indicated that the sirdars had

* Now, Colonel Sir Henry Pottinger, Baronet.

made no forward movement; but they vain-gloriously boasted that they were able to ride in three days from their capital to Shawl, and intimated that we might expect, when least desired, a sudden and rapid visit from them and their Affghan horse.

The-half brigades under Brigadier Arnold traversed the pass like those which immediately followed head-quarters, without encountering any local difficulties or armed opposition, and without any loss of a public nature beyond that of the failure of many commissariat camels; but the destruction of the carriage-cattle of officers and men, and the consequent abandonment of tents and baggage, had been pitiable. The lancers reached Siriab on the 22nd, having completed, without a halt, the whole distance from Siri Bolan to Siriab, full twenty-eight miles. The remainder of Brigadier Arnold's force came up on the 23rd, and the 4th brigade, with which moved Major-general Nott and his divisional head-quarters, closed upon us on the 24th.

Let us look back at the pass, the whole acclivity of which the main portion of the Bengal column has been seen to surmount. The most exact calculations fix the spot on the *Put*, or *Dusht*, on which the force was en-

camped, near Siriab, at 5300 feet above the level of the sea, and this might be a few hundred feet lower than the top of the pass itself. The exertions which had brought our soldiers thither may be generally summed up by stating that each column in succession marched on the first day up a narrow but level valley, ten and a half miles to Kohun Dulan; on the second up a wider vale, eleven and a half more to Kirtah, the ascent being still scarcely perceptible, and that the acclivity, on the third day, was not found much steeper, whilst the troops imperceptibly ascended, and traversed yet broader valleys to the distance of ten miles more, until they reached the remarkable pass of Beebee Nanee. The rise was greater as the columns advanced another ten miles, whilst loftier mountains closed around them, to Abigoom; and the pull up hill had become a very serious matter for artillery-horses, as they toiled up to the picturesque spot named Siri Bolan, where are found the gushing and pellucid fountains of the Kanhee. These springs are eleven miles from Abigoom. Two more miles of the same kind of road had to be climbed up on the following day; but then our regiments and batteries plunged at once into the narrow and winding defile of ten

and a half miles, the ascent of which is, however, very gradual, and which our engineers had shortened to eight miles by cutting a well chosen route into the *dusht*, instead of leaving us to make our way by the usual road to the Munzilgah, or resting-place of trading *kafilas*. According to the above recapitulation, the whole distance from Dadur to our first encampment in the "unhappy plain," including three miles from the top of the pass to our tents on the *put*, is to be estimated at sixty-six miles. Thus, then, by tracing up the Bolan stream, through the windings of its natural valley to its source, our Bengal force had been carried from the plains of Cutch Gundava into the heart of the Brahoick range, and had passed onward at the foot of a lofty ridge, which runs transverse to that barrier up to the high table-land of the *dusht*, and near to the opening of the valley of Shawl.

We had passed the great mountain ridge, which appeared to fence us out from Affghanistan. Difficulties of another nature now beset our path. It has been related that we had not more than one month's provision in hand when we reached Dadur. There, and in the country around, we had collected next to nothing; at Kwettah we had the promise of very little; and, as our instructions prohibited

our advancing for the present beyond that point, we could not hope to get hold of the resources of the valleys of Coochlak and Peshing, which were represented to be eminently productive. A painful crisis, therefore, appeared to be approaching. More than half a month had elapsed, and no source presented itself from which fresh supplies could be derived. Our depots of Bukkur and Shikarpore were now separated from us by the whole breadth of the dangerous tract of Cutch Gundava, as well as the depth of the mountain range, and we well knew that before the contingent of the Shah, and the Bombay force, could prosecute their advance they must not only draw largely on the supplies in our rear, but absorb a great proportion of the means of transport, which might otherwise have been employed to bring up successive convoys of provisions to Dadur, and the vale of Shawl.

It was when the clouds of difficulty began thus thickly to gather around us, and the timorous already fancied that they heard the breakers of destruction ahead, that our thoughts turned towards our professed ally, Mihrab Khan. It was asserted by his subjects that he had collected all the grain and camels from the provinces immediately around his capital, and stored and parked them within its walls. Up

to this period he had generally been profuse in professions of the most amicable character, and whatever suspicions had been generated by the recent conduct of his nominal dependants, the predatory Belooches, no actual proof of personal alienation from our interests had yet been adduced against him. Sir Alexander Burnes appeared to entertain the opinion that he would be found disposed to aid us to the extent of his power. The time had at all events arrived, when our necessities would afford a sufficient test of his sincerity. On the 24th of March our negotiator, accompanied by Lieutenant Simpson, an active officer of the commissariat department, took his departure from Siriab for Kelat. Sir Alexander Burnes had hitherto set out on all his expeditions followed by the cordial good wishes of the whole force; it will be supposed that his success was never more earnestly desired than on the commencement of his present journey.

We were detained one day longer at Siriab than we had proposed, whilst our engineers completed the bridging of some troublesome *nullas* near Kwettah, and otherwise improved the route. Whilst we remained on the margin of the extensive Kahreez on this flat, covered with aromatic herbs, blended with tulips and

irises, shut in by a considerable range of hills on either side, and boasting only a few patches of wheat and barley, produced by means of the artificial irrigation of the line of wells in our front, not fewer than four dawks, which had escaped by good fortune from the predatory tribes which infested our rear, reached our head-quarters in one day. There was a large envelope amongst the rest, which afforded ocular proof of the state of our communications. It was thoroughly soaked in human gore, and bore this superscription in the hand of one of our deputy postmasters. "The *suwar*, who carried this packet, was shot dead within two marches of Shah Shooja's camp, and the envelope is stained with his blood." An interval of a week without any intelligence from the British provinces, or even from Shikarpore or Cutch Gundava, to which we were of course looking at this period with peculiar solicitude, had ceased to be a matter of wonder in our camp. Whilst at Siriab our reports also taught us to apprehend a hostile attack on the part of the governor of Shawl upon the small force under Major Cureton. His post was reinforced, but no attempt was made upon it, though an unfriendly feeling was manifested by the inhabitants and their ruler towards our troops.

Finally, on the 27th of March, Head Quarters, the cavalry and the first brigade of infantry moved up to the town of Kwettah or Kwote. The columns marched a little before daylight. The morning was cold and frosty, and we found the plain much intersected by water-courses, fed from the Kahreezes, which are here numerous. For seven miles we were traversing the *dusht* in all its barrenness, but as we moved lower down the plain, we saw before us clumps and enclosures of deciduous trees, amongst which we recognised the poplar, the mulberry, the plum, the apricot, and the peach, the three latter covered with foliage and blossom. This was a refreshing sight to those who had wandered so long over the deserts and steril plains, and amidst bare as well as rugged mountains. The town of Kwettah is surrounded by a mud wall of about twelve hundred yards in circumference, which shuts in a few narrow streets of houses of the same material. On these the dwelling of the governor looks down from the top of a natural mound of earth centrically situated, which forms the citadel or keep of the fortifications. There are four gates in the *enceinte*, the pediment of one of which is decorated with deer's horns, a custom which we had before remarked at Dadur. The valley

in the immediate vicinity of the town is crossed by several rapid Kahreez streams, which turn flour-mills at no great distance, and beyond those water-courses is a rising ground, on which Major Cureton's camp was pitched. It does not constitute a position; but the *plateau* is sufficiently elevated to give a commanding view of the country around it, and in case of attack in the direction of Pesheen, the major, who was no novice in these matters, would have retired by the gate immediately behind him into the town, the walls and citadel of which he would long have defended with his handful of infantry.

The first intelligence which reached us, on arriving at our encamping-ground, was the substance of the report of Major Leech, which gave us to understand that, after some negotiations, the authorities in Kwettah had agreed to cause the shops, which had hitherto been closed, to be opened for the sale of corn at an unvarying rate during our stay in the valley. But the comfortless information was subjoined that al the grain which the town contained, could not be estimated at more than two days' supply fo the force now encamped under its walls. The major's agents had, up to this time, also been wholly unsuccessful in their efforts to procure

us subsistence from the vale of Pesheen, or from Moostoong, a large town on the route from Kwettah to Kelat. This was not a promising state of things. Already the gaunt spectre, famine, was in truth staring us in the face. Yet even whilst so painful a crisis was approaching, we could not refuse the tribute of our admiration to the localities of Kwettah, or deny that its site was in some respects superb. The range of mountains, which has for many miles formed the eastern boundary of the Dusht, terminates beyond Kwettah in a peak, that rises full five thousand feet above a plain ascertained to be itself little less than five thousand three hundred feet above the level of the ocean. Beyond it, inclining to the northward, is a lower range, from which a remarkable detached mountain is struck off. In this are two Kotuls, of one of which more will be said hereafter. Still further to the northward, and full in view of him who turns his back on Kwettah, is a yet grander line, the distinctive feature of which is a huge bifurcated mount. Its peaks cannot be fewer than six thousand feet above the valley. This lofty eminence is by Affghan and Beloochee named Tukatoo.

Kwettah itself stands at the northern extremity of the *Dusht*. The more fertile valley of

Shawl, to which it belongs, is seen stretching out to the westward, having the Tukatoo line of mountain for its northern boundary, whilst a far lower chain of hills defines it to the westward. They wear away gradually towards the south. Amongst their eminences is seen with the naked eye from Kwettah, the little Kotul or pass, which leads to the valley and town of Koochlak, and forms the direct route to Candahar. Macartney, whose accuracy we have generally had cause to admire, has erred in placing Koochlak to the eastward instead of the westward of Tukatoo, and Tassin has delineated Tukatoo itself as a detached, insulated mount, whereas it is the crowning eminence of an extensive range. The former topographer, never having extended his personal researches into Beloochistan, must have trusted entirely to native reports, from which he has certainly extracted a surprising amount of information. Tassin may be supposed to have had little to guide him here in his late useful compilation, but the map of Macartney, and such incidental notices of the country as he might have gleaned from the journal of Lieutenant Connolly.

The brigades of Arnold and Sale were disposed in something like a military position on the slope at the head of the valley of Shawl, the

cavalry on the right, the infantry on the left. The right of the line formed by these troops stretched out towards the chain and peaks of Tukatoo, of which, however, it fell short by some miles; whilst the left rested on ground much intersected by water-courses and low walls, by which alone it was separated from the ramparts of Kwettah. The fortifications of the place were therefore in fact the *appui* of this flank. The valley in front of the force is not very well cultivated, although numerous and extensive Kahreezees supply it with very sufficient means of irrigation. It produces, however, only some trifling crops of wheat and barley. The camel-thorn indeed springs up in considerable abundance on as much of the ground as is left waste, and this in the course of another month will become nutritious. The camp overlooks the whole vale, and in advance of our line of encampment was a mound, the value of which would have been acknowledged, if it had become necessary to establish an extended chain of distant outposts in the direction of Koochlak. The front and left of the position might therefore be deemed pretty secure, but besides that its right needed support, it was compromised and menaced in reverse by the two Kotuls, which have been described as ex-

isting in the lower range to the northward of Kwettah.

The valley of Shawl and its vicinage claims to be reckoned a favoured and promising region, whether we consider its own superior elevation, the grand and striking outline of the mountains around it, its numerous and pellucid streams, the evident fertility of its soil, or the apparent salubrity of its climate. We, who have lately seen the quicksilver at 94° at noon in Cutch Gundava, are now braced by the healthful cold of the morning, the thermometer standing at 34° a little before sunrise, and not rising beyond 64° during any part of the day in our tents. We have on this spot too some of the productions of Europe, to the sight of which many of us have been for a succession of years entire strangers. The poplars and fruit-trees have been already noticed, as have the tulips and irises of the *dusht*, which are also to be found close to Kwettah. In addition to these our botanists have discovered a wild anemone in the plains, and the butter-cup and dandelion in the mountains. One of our sportsmen has shot a woodcock in the copse near Major Cureton's camp of observation; larks are to be seen in flocks around the town, and saluted us with their morning carols as we marched down from

the *put*, and white linnets flutter about amongst the low bushes of the valley of Shawl. *Assa-fœtida* also grows on the *dusht*, whilst the vale to the northward produces, besides wheat and barley, rice and the small vetch called *moong* (*mungo phaseolus*); but no *chunna* or gram. The harvest of last year had here, as nearly throughout Hindoostan, been scanty, and it seems now to be ascertained beyond dispute, that of the little grain grown in the Belooche provinces adjacent to the caital, a large proportion had been forcibly collected, and stored up by Mihrab Khan. Despatches from Sir Alexander Burnes at Moostoong have already acquainted us that he had found in that place no food either for man or beast. He expected to reach Kelat on the 28th of March.

On the 25th Major Craigie, deputy-adjutant-general of the Bengal force, proceeded on a confidential mission to the head-quarters of Sir John Keane. It was supposed that he would find them at Dadur; but the continued interruption of our dawk communications had left us at this critical period in doubt even as to that fact. The major was charged to represent to his Excellency the state and prospects of the advanced force as regarded rations for the troops, and forage for the cavalry horses. He

was instructed to point out that Kwettah and the country around it could only furnish the most scanty supplies; whilst many days must elapse before any large convoy could reach us from the rear. The army, if it marched forthwith, could not arrive at Candahar in fewer than from fifteen to twenty marches; so that if it found itself under its walls in the shortest space of time which could be anticipated on any reasonable calculation, not more than two or three days' provisions would then remain unconsumed of its present stock. A longer delay at Kwettah would of course only aggravate the evil. Day by day our stores are diminished, and if we move later, we shall march so much the worse supplied; whilst our hesitation may give time to the rulers of Candahar, to devastate Pesheen, and the tract between the Khoja Amran and the western capital. After making these and other weighty communications, the major was directed to request his Excellency's specific instructions regarding the course to be pursued. During his absence, the horizon grew darker and darker. Mutton, indeed, was abundant in a country which is full of fine flocks of broad-tailed sheep, called from that peculiarity in their animal structure *doombas*, or tail-bearers; neither was there any lack of bullocks in our camps.

But *ottah** had risen, during our protracted stay at Kwettah, to the enormous price of two, and one and a half seers (four and three pounds English) for the rupee. There was a corresponding scarcity of condiments for the native troops, and *ghee* was sold at an exorbitant rate. Neither rice nor any other vegetable substitute for flour was to be procured on any terms.

It was clear, that under such circumstances, a sacrifice must be made, and the consumption diminished, or a crisis must soon arrive which it was frightful to contemplate. Accordingly, from the 28th March, the loaf of the European soldiers was diminished in weight, the native troops received only half instead of a full seer of ottah *per diem* and the camp followers, who had hitherto found it difficult to subsist on half a seer, were of necessity reduced to the *famine* allowance of a quarter of a seer. This was a painful measure; but the promptitude and decision with which it was adopted, certainly saved the army from the alternatives of starvation in their position, or unspeakably disastrous retreat upon their depots. The privation was most deeply felt by the followers. They did not

* Wheaten flour prepared in a particular way. Another form of it is called *mueda*. The coarser kinds of grain are much mixed with the *ottah* used by the lower order of natives.

murmur, but the countenances of these famishing men expressed suffering and dreadful apprehension; and if, when halted, this indispensable regulation seemed to crush them to the earth, how was it to be expected that they could bear up under it upon the resumption of our march?

Accounts at this time reached us from the pass of a desperate conflict between a party of irregular horse and a band of plunderers. The affair had been a fight, hand to hand, with sabres, spears, and *tulwars*. The robbers were repulsed; but the fury of their onset, and the gallantry of the irregulars, is proved by the fact, that out of a detachment of eighteen men, one, the son of its Duffadar, was killed, and every other *suwar* composing it, wounded. The native officers estimated the Belooches at two hundred. This is probably an exaggeration; but it is remarkable, that of six troopers of the 3rd light cavalry present in this little action, not one received a scratch. The attack was made by moonlight.

Whilst we were anxiously looking towards our rear for direction and succour, the news reached us that Shah Shooja, though he had a kingdom at stake, had been so mindful of the duties of a good Mussulman, as to halt at Bagh

to observe the solemnities of the Moohurrum. This act of devotion on the part of the monarch, delayed three days the progress of the head quarters of Sir John Keane. By diligent search, about four hundred maunds of secreted grain were found at this period in the town of Kwettah, and hopes were entertained of obtaining more in the villages of the valley. Meanwhile the effects of insufficient food are beginning to be plainly perceptible in the attenuated visages and shrunken limbs of our native soldiers and followers.

In describing the position in front of Kwettah, mention was made of two kotuls, or passes, in the range of mountains eastward of Tukatoo, by which a hostile force might debouche upon our right and right rear. As no enemy was expected in that direction, and none indeed was known to be near us at all, these inlets had never been reconnoitred, nor had pickets been posted at their gorges. Instead of these more regular measures of prevention, Major Leech had urged the governor of Kwettah to send out a party of his armed followers as a guard for our camels, whilst grazing near the most eastern of these openings.

It so happened, however, that a violent animosity had existed for some time between this

petty Belooche ruler, and the Qazee of the town: and the latter, a mischievous intriguer, had by way of compromising his superior with the British, contrived to get the irregular picket withdrawn from the mouth of the defile, and had encouraged a band of Kakur freebooters to attack the carriage animals of our force. About ten A. M. on the 31st, the alarm was given that a body of armed men had made an irruption into the plain, and succeeded in carrying off above forty camels of the commissariat. A strong company of the 48th native infantry and a party of twenty-five troopers of the 2nd light cavalry, were ordered up to the rescue. General Thackwell and his staff rode with them. The detachment had to proceed four miles and a half over a stony road before it reached the gorge of the pass. The Kakurs had conducted their foray well. The most nimble of them had been employed to drive their prey hastily with the points of their spears up the valley, and as soon as the British reached the pass, they found the robbers' rear-guard posted amongst the rocks on either hand, evidently with the intention of giving time for the safe retreat of their comrades with their plunder. As the detachment come on, the Kakurs opened a steady fire upon them. Two small parties of

sipahees were immediately directed to climb up and assail the heights on either flank, whilst a third body pushed on to force its way up the *durru*. This last was led by Lieutenant Hasell, adjutant of the 48th regiment, whose cap had been pierced by a ball, when the Kakurs first opened their fire. The sipahees displayed activity and boldness, and quickly drove the marauders from their post; but this show of organized opposition, the nature of the ground, and the assurances of the Belooche followers of the Governor of Kwettah, that the Kakurs, if pursued, would retire into a village in the mountains, which they described as strong, induced General Thackwell to send his adjutant-general to the camp for a reinforcement.

Five companies of the 13th, and a troop of light cavalry quickly got under arms, and before they were in motion across the plains, Sir Willoughby Cotton, accompanied by Major Cureton, had pressed on into the *durru*. The pursuit was thus continued by the two generals and the small parties of both arms, after the Kakurs gave way, full five miles through a strong defile, the greater portion of the narrow strip of level ground in the valley, consisting of the stony bed of a rivulet, over which lofty mountains frowned on either side. But at

length all traces of the camels were lost; and as the active forayers had wholly disappeared, it was judged to be vain to follow further the windings of the deserted pass. An order was sent to halt the reinforcements, and as the original detachment retired towards the camp, it found them, the cavalry, dismounted, and the infantry resting with piled arms, at a point, where the *durru* branched into two valleys. A considerable village being observed about a mile and a half up the northernmost of these vales, a reconnoissance was conducted by Major Cureton into that hollow, whilst the rest of the force and suite returned towards their camp, a little chagrined at the issue of the adventure. The major found the hamlet wholly untenanted, and it was evident that the inhabitants had recently fled. He described the valley as beautiful, its more favoured nooks being embellished with fruit-trees, and enlivened by springs of pellucid water gushing from the mountain sides. A company of the 13th, another of native infantry, and a troop of light cavalry, were directed to encamp in the gorge, and observe thenceforth this pass, which bears the name of the Ana Durru.

At length on the 1st April, despatches were received from Sir John Keane, dated Beebee

Nanee, 31st March, regretting the unavoidable delays which had retarded his advance, but expressing a hope that his head-quarters would be fixed at Siriab on the 4th of the following month. Major Craigie was then in his Excellency's camp, and sent us the first intimation of the calamitous loss of a great quantity of valuable supplies, whilst in progress through the Bolan pass with our field commissariat. The escort had been overpowered by a party of three hundred marauders, into whose hands this rich booty had fallen. Such an event in the present state of our supplies and expectations, is indeed untoward and vexatious.

On the 2nd April a communication from Sir Alexander Burnes made known to us the important fact of his having at length succeeded in inducing the Khan of Kelat to become a party to a treaty, by which he has bound himself to furnish supplies of grain and camels to our force, and to pay a visit of homage to Shah Shooja on the monarch's arrival in Shawl. On these conditions, and that of nominal allegiance to the future head of the Dooranee empire, the British negotiator, on the part of his government, had guaranteed to Mihrab Khan the sovereignty of Beloochistan, and the full command of its revenues. The Belooche, moreover,

stipulated that an officer of rank should be sent to conduct him to Kwettah. Sir Alexander Burnes described this ruler to be a man of no ordinary shrewdness and vigour of mind, and to have been actuated during the conferences by a lively curiosity respecting the British, their institutions, government, and political objects in Asia. He was loud in his censures of the proceedings of Shah Shooja. He professed to disapprove highly of the nature and composition of his army.

"He ought," said the Belooche politician, "to have trusted to the Affghans to restore him to his throne; whereas he is essaying to deluge the land with Hindoostanees, an insult which his own people will never forgive him. This will never do. You English may keep him by main force for a time on the musnud; but as soon as you leave the kingdom, your Shah Shooja will be driven beyond its frontiers. He will never be able to resist the storm of national and religious animosity, which is already raised against him in the breasts of the Affghans."

Notwithstanding the signature of the treaty, it seems exceedingly doubtful whether either grain or camels will be obtained from the Kelat territories. Until the negotiations were closed, the Belooche government would not even per-

mit the officers of the mission to purchase corn for their own animals in the capital. The companions of Sir Alexander Burnes's journey considered the city and fort of Kelat wholly indefensible, and were of opinion that a sense of this weakness, and a dread of a hostile visit from a corps of our force had alone induced Mihrab Khan to affix his seal to the convention. They have no expectation that he will fulfil a single article of it. They are confident that he is influenced by the persuasion that we shall ultimately fail in our enterprize, and that, congratulating himself on having by temporizing measures shunned the impending evil of the occupation of his capital, he will stand prepared in case of our meeting with any check to fall with the whole forces of his dominion upon our rear and communications. Lieutenant Simpson entertained no doubt that both grain and camels were concealed at Moostoong, Mungochur, and Nooshky, as well as at Kelat, but feared that the intrigues of the Belooche governors would too successfully baffle our most active endeavours to gain possession of them; and that the game which was played against Sir John Keane's force in Lower Sinde, would be renewed to our mortification and serious injury in Beloochistan.

The detachment, which observes the gorge of the pass of Ana Durru, has not been permitted to remain quiescent there. Towards the evening of the 2nd of April, a strong party of Kakurs carried off some of the camels of the troops employed in this duty, which they had imprudently sent up the valley to graze. A few troopers of the 3rd light cavalry pursued the marauders for a distance of eight miles. At last the Kakurs, perceiving that the cavalry had gained upon them, took to the sides of the mountain, and opened a fire. The *suwars* returned it with their pistols, and riding up the steeps and slippery eminences, used their sabres with some effect. Three of the brigands were killed, and five, all of them wounded, brought prisoners into our encampment.

Major Craigie returned on the morning of the 3rd of April from his hasty and hazardous excursion to the southern gorge of the Bolan pass. Leaving Kwettah on the evening of the 25th of March, he had reached Dadur on the morning of the 28th, where he found the monarch, the commander-in-chief, and the British envoy and minister all under canvass. The Shah had with him four infantry battalions, and upwards of five hundred cavalry, whilst his Excellency was escorted by a squadron and a half of the 1st

Bombay light cavalry and a wing of the 19th native infantry. The united camps of the king, the general-in-chief, and the minister, displayed all the pomp and circumstance of a triple head-quarter. The whole will reach Siriab on the 4th, whither the Bengal staff will repair to welcome them to the plains of *Cisalpine* Beloochistan.

Sir Willoughby Cotton, accompanied by his personal staff, and some of the departmental officers of the Bengal force, rode towards Siriab between nine and ten o'clock A. M. on the 4th of April, in expectation of finding the head-quarters of Sir John Keane, as well as the camps of the Shah and the British minister already fixed there. Excessively heavy rain had fallen during the preceding night, and the cold had been severe; but as we proceeded into the upper valley, and onward over the *dusht*, the weather became more promising, and it was pleasing to exiles of many years from their native land once more to witness the progress of an English spring. The trees, which we had found bare and leafless on the 26th of March, were now green with budding foliage, and this change and the growth of the crops, and the sparkling of the streams from

the Kahreezes, and in the water-courses swelled by the rain, gave, as the sun gleamed forth through the clouds, and the mists began to roll away from the tops of the mountains, a cheerful and exhilarating aspect to the vale. Passing through the camps of our 4th brigade and parc, we saw beyond them a line of slowly rising smoke, which issued from a spot a mile and a half in advance of that, on which we had ourselves halted three days. Sir John Keane, and Mr. Macnaghten had arrived on the ground shortly before. Shah Shooja had made the whole march from Siri Bolan to Siriab, the day before, and had been established within his crimson *Kunats* since the evening of the 3rd. He was too much fatigued by the exertion of this long day's work to be able to give audience to any one. Cordial greeting was interchanged between the commander-in-chief, with whom we were now put in personal communication, and Sir Willoughby Cotton, they two having met before in various climes, and several of the officers of the Bengal and Bombay staffs were made known to each other, fully purposing to encounter together the further difficulties of the crisis with the sentiment of comrades and brethren in arms. These ceremonies being concluded, the Bengal staff proceeded to welcome

the envoy and minister to a place of temporary repose after the fatigues of the Bolan Pass.

His Excellency had yesterday at his camp on the *dusht* resorted to a vigorous measure to check the system of marauding, by which the force had been so long harassed. Ten delinquents had been captured in the act of plundering, and one of them recognised as a brigand who had been guilty of a similar outrage, attended with desperate violence in the pass. Sir John Keane, full proof having been adduced, caused the whole to be summarily shot to death by a party of light cavalry. Another culprit had, as we arrived on the *put*, been placed in confinement, and a gibbet erected on a gentle rise in the plain, from which he was to be suspended as soon as the property, which he had stolen, should be identified. It is only by the force of severe examples and the salutary terror produced by prompt executions, that such freebooters as the Belooches, Kakurs, and other marauders of these plains and mountains, as well as the hardened wretches who creep into large camps, and follow the line of the marches of Indian armies, can be taught to respect persons and property.

It is well known that the natives both of Hindoostan and Affghanistan, referring to many

passages in Shah Shooja's life, have adopted the notion that he is a man of evil destiny, a *kum nuseeb*, or *bud bukht*, as they would phrase it. Since, however, he has been patronized by the British, they have admitted, with a reserve as to the former prevalence of his evil genius, the possibility of his prospering in his present enterprise, through the influence of our good fortune, which they esteem transcendent. An incident occurred at Dadur, which seems likely to give rise to fresh foreboding as to his success. Several Affghans of distinction had sought the royal tents whilst he was at Shikarpore, and with difficulty obtained access to him. To Englishmen he is ever kind and condescending, but his warmest admirers seem to fear that the haughty coldness of his manner towards his former subjects, will freeze his friends into enemies. All the Affghans, to whom he gave audience at Shikarpore, complained, whether justly or not, of this more than kingly pride.

"We have traversed," said they, "the valleys of our native land, and threaded the passes of the Belooche mountains, which guard them, to kiss his footstool; but he has sent us back with aching hearts as well as bleeding feet, without even a kind look, much less a

promise, to feed upon." Few or none therefore rallied round his standard during his progress over the plains of Cutch Gundava. But at Dadur, an Affghan of character and influence did come in with his retinue and adherents. Unfortunately, however, he forgot in his zeal, or had never heard of, the jealous precautions, with which camps under British influence are guarded. He rode after dark at a rapid pace in upon the pickets, was challenged, either did not hear, or from inadvertency or ignorance of the Hindoostanee language, failed to answer, was mistaken for an enemy, and cut down by the *vedettes* of the Shah's cavalry.

At length we are made fully aware that we must look for grain in some other direction than Kelat or the towns of its ruler. Sir Alexander Burnes has finally written from Moostoong that there not more than one thousand maunds can be obtained. The officers of his mission again complain that they can with difficulty procure corn for their own horses, and the wretched inhabitants along their line of route are sustaining life upon roots and grasses. Mihrab Khan makes no effort to relieve our necessities, and the only difference of opinion regarding his conduct seems now to be as to whether it is the result of inability or unwilling-

ness to fulfil the main stipulation of the convention to which he has affixed his seal. But whether malevolence closes his magazines against us, or they are indeed as empty as his agents pretend, it would be folly to suffer ourselves any longer to be deluded with the hope of drawing any adequate supplies from his provinces.

A reply has been received to a secret overture made by our diplomatists to Ruheem Dil Khan, the second brother of that Barukzye triumvirate which has usurped the rule at Candahar. It is replete with mendacity and meanness. It sets out with a false and blustering account of the preparations for war at the western capital, and affects to describe in glowing colours the religious excitement of all classes. The Barukzye asserts that the holy standard of the prophet had been brought down into the streets, and that the people had unanimously sworn to defend it against the unbelieving *Feringees*, with whom Shah Shooja had impiously leagued himself. The epistle concludes in a strain, which seems to leave no doubt that this brother of Futtih Khan, like other patriots, has his price, though it is likely to be exorbitant if left to his own fixing. "You offer me," says he, "an establishment for myself and

family; but how am I any longer to restrain an enthusiastic people? Be explicit and tell me exactly what it is you propose to do, and be speedy, or the inhabitants of Candahar will soon have escaped from my hand, and cease to be guided by me."

Two conflicts with marauders took place on the 4th and 5th of April, in the plains to the north westward of Kwettah, only a few hundred yards in advance of our encampment. The plunderers were in both instances worsted. In the first affair Cornet Toone, of the 2d Light Cavalry, cut down and decapitated with his own hand the leader of the gang of depredators, and in the second Lieutenant Yule, of the 16th Lancers, forced a village, from which the brigands kept up a sustained fire. A prisoner, through whose body two pistol bullets had passed in the latter skirmish, yet survived finally to expiate his offences by being hanged up to one of the trees in the large grove under the walls of Kwettah. The people in the vale, as well as the Kakurs in the mountains, have been excited to their recent acts of pillage and violence by the mischievious arts of the Qazee whose misunderstanding with the governor of the town has been before noticed.

The morning of the 6th was appointed for

the arrival of Sir John Keane in our camp, personally to assume the command, and fix his head-quarters at Kwettah. He left Siriab about daylight, and was met by Sir Willoughby Cotton and his suite near the orchards in the environs of the town. Two hours had not elapsed from the time of his entering our camp under the salute due to his rank, when the heads of departments were summoned to Sir Willoughby Cotton's tent, in which his Excellency had breakfasted, and every arrangement concluded for conducting further operations. The 4th brigade and parc marched up from the *dusht*, and were posted in second line, and orders issued for the movement of the cavalry, and 1st brigade with head-quarters on the 7th. At ten o'clock renewed peals of ordnance announced the arrival of Shah Shooja.

Every where in our lines is again seen the bustle of preparation for resumed advance, and in the excitement of the prospect of being once more in motion, and the hope of soon seeing the western capital of Affghanistan, the troops seem happily to have forgotten the appalling difficulty of supplying their necessities up to its walls. The arrangements of the 4th of March relative to the new organization of the army, of course come in full force from this

day. Sir Willoughby Cotton assumes the command of the 1st division of infantry, and General Nott returns to that of the 2nd brigade. The latter will for the present remain in charge of the important place of arms of Kwettah, which is already garrisoned by the 43rd regiment of native infantry at present in advance of the general's other two corps. By his brigade the important service will be performed of holding the northern outlet of the Bolan, observing Kelat, and keeping up the communication with Shikarpore, and our depôts and posts on the Indus.

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. The promptitude of the advance of the Bengal column from Dadur to Kwettah led to most important consequences as regarded the great issues of the plan of invasion. It took the vacillating, disunited, and irresolute Sirdars of Candahar by surprise, and even the wily Belooche, Mirab Khan, always in his heart, it is to be feared, disaffected to the authors of the enterprise, had no time to organize any measures of resistance or annoyance, until a powerful force was already in possession of the town of Kwettah, and within a few miles of his capital. It compelled him therefore still to dissemble.

Nevertheless the risk of this march was not inconsiderable, for as the whole of the intermediate country was in fact hostile, though nominally allied, and all supplies were withheld by a series of the basest intrigues, the force was reduced to formidable straits for want of provisions, and would have suffered dreadful privations, if its halt at Kwettah had been prolonged many days more.

2°. The two brigades of infantry, and one of cavalry with the effective artillery, siege train, and engineer department of the Bengal force might with safety have advanced without delay from Kwettah to Candahar, so far as the opposition of the Candahar Affghans was concerned, and such a course, however venturous, would have been far more in accordance with the desires of the force, than lingering nearly a fortnight on the *dusht*, and in the valley of Shawl, and daily consuming in inactivity their scanty supplies; but Sir Willoughby Cotton was bound by his instructions not to advance a step beyond Kwettah, and this mandate was based on very sufficient reasons, military and political. First, it would have been unsafe to have exposed the left flank to Kelat, and the efforts of its insidious ruler, until the arrival of fresh forces should have rendered it possible to

post a body of troops in observation at Kwettah. Secondly, it was rightly deemed expedient that the British armament should not cross the frontiers of Affghanistan until it could be accompanied by the monarch whom it marched to restore. We desired to show the Affghans, that we did not enter their territories in the character of conquerors, but solely for the purpose of reinstating the legitimate sovereign of the Suddozye race on that throne, which, in a season of confusion, thirty years before, the brethren of the Barukzye Wuzeer, Futih Khan, had succeeded in usurping.

3°. The patience, with which for upwards of three months and a half the native soldiers and mustered followers of the Bengal force bore their privations, when their ration was reduced a full moiety, and in truth did not suffice to satisfy the cravings of hunger, ought ever to be remembered to their credit by the government which they were serving. At Kwettah that course of severe endurance began; and let it not be forgotten that it required some moral courage to announce in that encampment to the Sipahee, already suffering from the suppressed pangs of a *nostalgia*, to which, owing to constitutional temperament and the prejudices of national superstition, he is peculiarly subject,

that he must henceforth part with his remaining comforts, and contrive to support existence, and perform his arduous duties, upon an allowance of food barely sufficient to preserve him from starvation. But the case of urgency was like that of Bligh of the Bounty in his bark on the wide Pacific, and the prompt adoption of a sumptuary regulation, grievous, but just because necessary, saved the force from the horrors of actual famine, or the ignominy of retreat, and enabled it to aid in obtaining triumphant possession of Candahar and Cabool; and as Sir Willoughby Cotton cheerfully loaded himself with the responsibility of the measure, so his must now be the praise.

4°. The perfidy of Mihrab Khan was sufficiently apparent before the force left Kwettah. In utter contempt of the provisions of the treaty to which he had set his seal, he did nothing to provide for the wants of the British army, and seems to have manifested little disposition to pay the promised visit of homage, and professed fealty to Shah Shooja, as the titular superior of Beloochistan. But his treachery and contumacy extended much farther than to these negative neglects and misprisions, and I have been altogether misled, if the British government be not in possession of the most

convincing proofs of his having issued instructions to his subordinate rulers to commence and persevere in that system of organized rapine and outrage; by which our posts and columns were harassed from the northern gorge of the Bolan to Curachie, wherever in fact the supremacy and influence of this deceiver were acknowledged. More recently, despatches* are said to have been seized upon his agents, the purport of which was to stimulate the Ameers of Sinde to unite with him in acts of future aggression against the force of that British government which he had dared to insult with a profession of alliance. It is to be feared that those versatile and insincere rulers lent too ready an ear to his suggestions. These things could not be kept secret, and therefore it excited surprise during the progress of our

* It is the custom of Asiatic rulers to stamp public papers in ink with a signet bearing their names and titles, instead of affixing their autographs, as is the practice in Europe. A large impression in wax is also appended by a silken thread to the envelopes of muslin and *Kumkhwab* (brocade). The documents adverted to in the text bore the impression of the seal of Mihrab Khan. A remarkable flaw was observed in this on a close inspection of the papers, and Sir Alexander Burnes, when he visited Kelat in March, 1839, had noticed a corresponding defect in the signet of the Belooche ruler. This circumstance may be regarded as a singular collateral proof that the papers were genuine.

army into Affghanistan, that the power of this genuine Belooche had not at once been annihilated by moving a column upon his capital through the Moona pass from Gundava, or later from the valley of Shawl, by Moostoong. But our government evinced its sagacity by continuing to temporize, conniving for a season at the perfidious policy of this specious enemy, and enduring his provocations, cautiously, at the same time observing him from the strong and important post of Kwettah, where a major-general commanded, and reserving our strength and resources for the main objects of the expedition. At length when the Dooranee empire had been re-established by our efforts, it was announced that "the measure of the iniquity of the Amorites was full," and as this remark is committed to paper, the Bombay force is marching toward Kelat-i-Nusseer, charged with the task of the punishment and deposition of this worthy head of the most lawless and depraved people in Asia.

5° "The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmities;" but this internal support is denied to the brute creation. Thus, whilst the resolution and patriotism of European and native soldiers upheld their fainting strength, and induced them to receive contentedly and cheerfully "their

curtailed rations," the loss of their gram and fodder ruined the horses of our cavalry, and their artillery, and this valuable arm of the Bengal force might be considered as all but paralysed from the last week of March to the beginning of June.

CHAPTER VII.

March to Koochlak—New order of encampment—Loss and low condition of cavalry horses—Repulse of Belooches in an attack upon Lieutenant Palmer's convoy—Passage of the Kozuk—The camp of the Shah Shooja at head quarters near Chummun—His indisposition—Defection of Hajee Khan Kakur—Cavalry pushed on to Tukhti Pool on the Dooree—Shah Shooja enters Candahar—British army encamped under its walls—Observations.

THE march of the cavalry, and 1st brigade of infantry from Kwettah, commenced at five A.M. on Sunday, the 7th of March. Sir John Keane and the general staff, with whom rode Sir Willoughby Cotton, now followed by the more modest *suwarree* of a divisional commander, left their tents before the troops were off the ground. We were at length to bid farewell to the majestic peaks of Tukatoo, after a sojourn of eleven days, during which we had them constantly in view. The mist of the morning was

dissipated, and the full extent of the valley of Shawl displayed, as the columns, and their prolonged train of baggage, descended the slope of our position. Reports had reached us the day before of the Kotul, towards which we were directing our course, being defended; but a reconnoissance, conducted by Major Garden, had proved these rumours to be groundless. He found the coast clear. The vale of Shawl, at one end of which stands Kwettah, is bounded on the eastward by a prolongation of one of the mountain ranges of Sewestan, on the westward by another chain, which stretches down from Chihiltun on the *dusht*, and on the north by those eminences of which the peaks of Tukatoo are the most prominent feature. The right of this line of mountain is nearly met by the left of a succession of lower hills, the direction of which is about north-west. Through the gap between the two barriers our route lay; and when we had reached the bottom of the valley of Shawl, and not before, the eye recognised the fact of our having a gradual acclivity of a mile and a half to climb before we could reach the opening. As we pressed up the stony road, some parties of Kakurs, under the Tukatoo range, silently observed us from a distance. Arrived at the brow of the hill before us, as the

shoulder of the mountain overhung us on our right, we dipped at once down a steep and picturesque Kotul, full one thousand feet into the valley of Koochlak.

Whilst we were descending step by step, the appearance of the undulating level at our feet was that of an uncultivated waste of red clay; but a nearer view showed us fields of flourishing young wheat and barley checquering the fallow land in the plain, and by the road side was springing up not only the camel thorn, but a species of hyacinth, which grows also in smaller quantities on the *dusht*, together with the friends of our youth, the dandelion, the daisy (the same species which abounds in the Himalaya), clover, trefoil, lucerne in profusion, and a kind of spear grass, which some of us had never looked upon since we left merry England, and now recognised with something like emotion. The mud hamlet of Koochlak was wholly deserted. The inhabitants had fled at our approach, and no grain was to be discovered in their habitations. A considerable body of them had migrated to the foot of the mountains, which divide this vale from that of Shawl, and were encamped at a very cautious distance under the tents of black felt, described by Lieutenant Conolly in his journal.

The commander-in-chief pitched under a hil-

lock, near which were aligned the Bombay cavalry and infantry of his escort. Sir Willoughby Cotton, who had been requested to keep near to head-quarters, will henceforth find his place at the head of a separate street, consisting of the tents of his personal and divisional staff;* whilst the Bengal departments form by themselves a third double line. A little *nulla* separated our camp from a grove of mulberry trees, on which the fruit was already formed, although the leaves were only beginning to burst forth. Under the imperfect shade of these, our late morning repast was finished. Koochlak is a Belooche valley; we have not yet, therefore, crossed the openly hostile frontier, but, being so near it, have deemed it prudent to discard the luxury of advanced tents. The whole of our camp equipage and baggage, therefore, moves in the rear of the columns, and we must consequently reckon on waiting long every morning without shelter from a sun which will daily increase in power. The temperature is already much higher since we descended the Kotul from Shawl. The troops of Shah Shooja, for the present, move consecu-

* This order of encampment was not actually observed on the march to Koochlak, but was gradually adopted after a few days progress from Kwettah.

tively with our force, after an interval of two or three hours.

The columns moved at the same hour, and in the same order as yesterday, and their line of route was over plains of clay and sand, intersected by deep ravines, and twice by two several branches of the Siriab river, called by the inhabitants (who speak little but Pushtoo) "Lora," which, it appears, is their generic name for a stream. Our view to the southward was still bounded by lofty mountains, whilst lower ranges of hill divided into a succession of valleys the space which we traversed from Koochlak to Hyderzye. Here we fixed our camp on the 8th, and found two large villages of mud huts substantially built. Every man, woman, and child, excepting a few Syuds, or descendants of the prophet, who, doubtless, considered their hereditary sanctity their safeguard, had fled before we came up. The cottages contained large vats of basket work for the reception of corn, which were surrounded, and defended, by an outer coating of clay; but all were empty. Through the intervention, however, of the Syuds, a small number of the males of the place were persuaded to return, and an inconsiderable quantity of barley was purchased, partly by the commissariat, and

partly by individual officers, who eagerly bought it up for their horses and half-famished followers.

The wants of the force may now, indeed, be described as pressing. The cavalry horses are dying in considerable numbers, and the condition of those which survive is too low for the rapid movement, long sustained, which would be required of them before an active enemy. It is difficult also to conceive how the camp followers can bear up under the exertions of a march, and the supervening labours of their various offices, without any other sustenance than the allowance of a quarter of a seer, half a pound English, of *ottah* per diem. A hungry native of Hindoostan will devour a whole seer for his daily meal, and, as the bazars furnish scarcely any thing in the way of vegetable or condiment, to eke out the scanty pittance issued from the government stores to this class, their trials at this period are indeed painful. Our horses were this day favoured in having come into the neighbourhood of some fields of lucerne, and other artificial grasses, which, with a few acres of wheat not yet spindled, were appropriated, under proper regulations, for their sustenance. We are now in the fief of one of the Sirdars of Candahar; before us is the valley of Pesheen.

Our descent was more apparent to-day than yesterday. The hills, which subdivided the plains, were tamer, and the flats over which we marched, after being covered for some miles as the day before, with the hyacinth, iris, tulip, poppy, dandelion, and camomile, were afterwards seen to be overgrown only with the *khar-i-shootur*, and the aromatic herbs of the *put*. As we approached our encamping ground, we beheld before us a continued succession of large mud villages stretching on towards the foot of a chain of mountains. These are the hills designated in all our maps, from that of Macartney down to the late compilation of Tassin, by the name of Khoju Amran. The inhabitants of the district, however, do not know them by this title. In these heights our guides pointed out the direction of the passes of Kozuk, Roghanee, and a third further to the eastward called Surzab. On our right, on the extensive plain, we have a lofty village, defensible against any attack without artillery; and beyond it, in the same direction, but not visible even through our telescopes, is the town of Alizye. The villages before us contain the promised stores of Pesheen. As the last harvest was scanty, and the people have evidently secreted or carried off their grain, it cannot be hoped that the com-

missariat will obtain a large supply. Neither money nor research, however, will be spared. The weather continues delightful. The temperature is indeed higher than on the *dusht*, but we have still the enjoyment of a clear invigorating atmosphere in our early marches, and though the sun is oppressive in that interval, which we have commonly to pass in the open air, between our arrival at our halting-places at about eight A.M., and the coming up of our tents at ten or eleven; yet no sooner are our canvass dwellings reared than all is cool and comfortable within. By day, woollen clothes, from head to foot, are not found burdensome, and the cold of the night would not be tolerable without the aid of English blankets, or the stuffed quilts of Hindoostan.

We have long been counting with impatience the days until we might hope to hear something of the near approach of a convoy in charge of Lieutenant Palmer, recently appointed to the commissariat. To-day the unpleasant intelligence has been conveyed to us of his having lost eight hundred camels since he crossed the Indus, from fatigue and indifferent forage. This has compelled him to abandon a large portion of his valuable supplies. He has brought up to the *dusht* only two thousand maunds, or

one hundred and sixty thousand pounds English, of ottah, and does not hope to be able to reach Candahar before the 26th of April. He has, moreover, been already compelled to fight for all which he may succeed in conveying to us. Between Kirtah and Beebee Nanee, his escort of two companies of the 35th regiment native infantry was suddenly attacked by a body of Belooches, the strength of which was estimated at three hundred men. The plunderers fired a volley, and then rushed on sword in hand. But the conduct of the sipahees was cool and determined. They repulsed the assailants by a steady fire, who fled, leaving thirteen dead on the field. As their wounded would probably bear the usual proportion to this ascertained loss, it may be supposed that they had not fewer than fifty *hors de combat*. On Lieutenant Palmer's side a havildar and a sipahee were killed, and five sipahees wounded. He himself received a flesh wound from a ball in the leg.

Sir Alexander Burnes and Lieutenant Simpson have rejoined our camp on their return from Kelat, bringing with them promises and little else. After the insolent delays, and more than equivocal conduct of Mihrab Khan, in several respects, Shah Shooja has very properly inter-

dicted his visit of ceremony; and little doubt now remains that a day of reckoning with him will surely, if late, arrive. His capital is described by the officers who have seen it to be a miserable town, and they have formed a very low estimate indeed of the strength of its defences.

When the columns left their ground near Hykulzye this morning, it was hoped that they would have reached, in between four and five hours, Urumbee, near Kila Abdoolah Khan, calculated to be between fourteen and fifteen miles distant. Nothing was known of any obstacle in the seemingly plane valley of Pesheen, which could delay the troops in their progress up to the foot of the Khoju Amran range; but after advancing only seven miles, they found that they had to ford another branch of one of the loras, or mountain streams, which water these plains. It was, though rapid, not above two feet in depth; but both banks were precipitous, and it was not possible to approach the one or get clear of the other, excepting by means of narrow pathways through deep ravines, which the engineers were labouring to convert into practicable roads. The troops indeed defiled, and forded rapidly, but it was necessary that the twelve guns of the two batteries should

be drawn, by European and native soldiers harnessed to the drag-ropes, along a narrow gallery without a parapet, on the edge of a sheer descent of fifty feet. Thence they were eased down an abrupt declivity to the margin of the river, brought through its turbid waters, and again pulled up a traversing ascent recently cut in the right bank into the green plains beyond.

When this was with much labour accomplished, there remained on the left bank a dense mass of camels and other animals, laden with the tents and baggage of head-quarters, and of the two brigades, all of which had to be singly ushered through the only gap of entrance, along the giddy platform, then down to, across, and up from the stream, into the verdant level beyond. The heat was beginning to be felt oppressively, and the *surwans* of a large string of the camels, becoming impatient of waiting for their turn, and of the slow progress of the animals before them through the authorized pass, under the auspices of the baggage-master, diverged to the left, and gained, after a *détour*, the right bank by another ford lower down the stream. But they too had to scramble over difficult and slippery ravines, into which many animals with their loads fell, and were with difficulty got upon their legs again. The cavalry

was pushed forward to Urumbee, but there was no alternative after the protracted delays of the morning, but fixing the head-quarters, and halting the infantry on the margin of the Lora. The troops of Shah Shooja encamped on the left bank, and in the evening a communication from Mr. Macnaghten warned us of his having received information that the Uchikzyes, a predatory tribe located within, and at the foot of the Khoja Amran range, meditated an attack upon us at night, or *shub-khoon*, as it is called in Persian. Numbers of these people had been selling grain and camels in our camp during the day, both to individual officers and the commissariat, and one of them had urgently entreated to be allowed to leave in deposit at the commissary-general's tent, a large sum which he had realized by his traffic. It was thought improbable, therefore, that his *ooloos*, or tribe, entertained serious thoughts of attacking us. Nevertheless, every proper precaution was taken against nocturnal surprise, in addition to the ample arrangements for the protection of our camps, which formed part of our daily routine of duty. The night, however, wore away without any thing being seen or heard of a belligerent Uchikzye.

The *shubkhoon* is a favourite device of the

military art of the several Affghan and Belooche tribes, as well as of the Persians. When it is executed on the great scale, a large body of horse is silently collected and led furtively up to the enemy's camp. The whole then attack with a wild *hurra* the front flank, or rear, as may have been ordered, the point which is least guarded being usually chosen. Each horseman follows the impulse of his own individual bravery, or love of plunder, and cuts down, spears, or captures every man or quadruped before him. Onward the assailants rush in their confused and headlong course, and having done their work of destruction, and secured as much booty as they can, all gallop through the encampment, pass out of it by the opposite side, and re-form at a safe distance from their opponents. It is not to be denied, that an untutored and irregular force may, by an attack of this kind, cause their enemy, if they find him unprepared and lulled in a false security, a greater loss at a cheaper rate than by any other mode of assault; but there is reason to think, that the largest body of the untrained belligerents of this valley, after being received on the first onset by a sharp fire from a chain of sentries, promptly supported by their pickets steadily formed, and relying on the aid of a line

as rapidly arrayed as was the British force at the time of the false alarm on the Indus, would soon find ample cause to condemn as romantic all future schemes of enacting the drama of a *shubkhoon* in the presence of so uncompromising an audience as the present invaders of Affghanistan.

The 1st brigade and head-quarters united themselves to the cavalry, by marching over, on the morning of the 11th of April, eight miles more of the valley of Pesheen, which but for the interposition of the untried asperities of the Lora, would have been traversed the day before. The thermometer stood at 48° at five A. M., and cloaks and thick leather gloves were acknowledged as kind friends up to the moment of our dismounting at our new ground. The spot was gladdened and refreshed by a tiny rill of chrystal water, rushing down with excessive rapidity through its narrow channel in the green sward from the low mountain line of the Khoja Amran in our front. Our road had lain over grass fields, and across ravines less rugged than those of the preceding march, and for the first time since we left Cutch Gundava, we saw around our path thickets of the tamarisk. This march has brought us near to the gorge of the Kozuk. The opening is seen between the hills

about two miles from our camp, and as we look around, the green plains of Pishing are developed in their aspect of comparative fertility, dotted with mud hamlets, and shut in on two sides by a bend of the Khoja Amran, a waving line of hill without tree or shrub, and bounded to the southward by an offset of the mountains which inclose and subdivide Sewestan, the crest of which is even now, in the middle of April, covered with snow, apparently to a considerable depth.

The scarcity of grain has, at length, produced effects the most deplorable amongst the horses of our Bengal brigade of cavalry. One hundred and sixteen have died since the 6th instant, and the majority of those which survive, are too weak for their outpost duties, in addition to the fatigue of daily marches. Unless we find in Candahar both grain and repose, this cavalry, which left our provinces and crossed the Indus in such splendid order, seems to be in danger of being wholly dismounted. The condition of its horses was first lowered by the deficiency of water and scarcity of grass, or any of its substitutes in Cutch Gundava. The march through the Bolan was harassing, and then in the valley of Shawl the poor animals were brought down at once from a ration of five seers to one and a

half. For grain, their usual food, first *jooara*, and then barley, wheat and Indian corn have been substituted in small quantities; and during the last ten days these unfortunate steeds have not enjoyed the luxury of any regular ration, however low. To supply this painful deficiency, they have here, as in Cutchee, occasionally been permitted to graze over the fields of green corn, due compensation being made to the owners for the injury. But this indulgence has not materially improved their condition, and some indeed are of opinion that the purgative quality of such forage always diminishes the strength and activity of horses.

When we came to our ground this morning, we were informed that Brigadier Arnold, armed, but unaccompanied by troops, had ridden forward into the Kozuk pass. He returned in the evening, and related that he had suddenly, whilst moving on leisurely with Captain Sanders of the engineers, met with a gay and well-mounted body of Asiatic cavaliers, who fired two matchlock shots at him and his companion. The brigadier and his friend prudently retired, without returning the compliment, to the sappers' camp, which is established about half-way through the defile. Brigadier Arnold does not dissemble the difficulties of the route. He

assures us that it runs for a considerable distance through a stream, which flows over hard and slippery rocks. On these the camels can hardly be expected to keep their feet, and the defile is so narrow, that if a single gun should stick fast in it, the progress of the whole force would be arrested. The engineers will doubtless plane down many difficulties before the columns attempt the passage; but it would appear to be most expedient to reconnoitre both the Roghanee pass, to which, however, the peasantry give even a worse character, and a third further to our left, called by the inhabitants "*Sung-i-soofued*," or the "White stone." The last is said to be a prolongation of the route which runs through the halting-place of the Goolistan Kahreez, and is described as far less precipitous than either of the other two passes; in fact, as comparatively easy. It is right, however, to add, that a want of water is apprehended in that direction. As a lateral march of a few miles would conduct us to the mouth of this third *débouché*, it were to be wished that these promises of a less arduous passage could be fairly tested, before we brave the ascertained asperities of the Kozuk. That defile will be reconnoitred by the commander-in-chief in person to-morrow.

Head-quarters and the 1st brigade moved yet lower down the valley of Pesheen on the 12th, and after advancing over only seven and a half miles, pitched their tents between the green hills which form the gorge of the Kozuk. The commander-in-chief, Sir Willoughby Cotton, and their two staffs began to ride rapidly up the *durru* about half past nine. They overtook some baggage of the 16th native infantry, and from an officer who accompanied it, learnt that a considerable body of men, whom he found occupying the hill on either side, had just retired before his escort. For six miles and a half up to the point at which the camp of the sappers was fixed, the character of the valley is undeviating. The acclivity is easy, and the stony road runs evenly between hills, which are coated with grass and herbs. They are not, however, decorated with trees, though a few, which have attained to a considerable height and girth, are seen in the level below. Its width may be six hundred yards. The formation of the eminences is said to be sand-stone and mica slate.

From the engineer encampment strikes off to the left the defile, which Brigadier Arnold had rightly described as presenting formidable difficulties. Our scientific engineers had wisely de-

termined not to meet these in front. We found a traversing road already constructed, which led us to the right of the route over the bed of the mountain rivulet. It wound, so the skill of Captain Thomson and his coadjutors had chosen the direction of its zigzags, first to the eastward, then to the westward, and again towards the north. On either side were growing, if not here in profusion, at least in beauty, the tulips of the *dusht*, a more attractive species of iris than any we had seen on that strange desert, abundance of wild rhubarb, which under the name of *ruwash* the inhabitants eat with avidity, several flowers with bulbous roots, to us mere soldiers unknown by name, a variety of ferns, and a beautiful flowering shrub which, without botanical knowledge, I can only describe as reminding me of the beauty of the almond-tree in blossom. When we had mastered the first painful ascent, we found ourselves at the point where the new road and the original pathway, through the bed of the *nulla*, meet. We crossed the stream just where a beautiful spring wells forth from the mountain-side.

As we paused here a few minutes, the commander-in-chief honoured the chrystal and pellucid water of this fountain by drinking a small portion of it out of a silver cup, having first

infused into it a few drops of *eau-de-vie.* The party then began to ascend again. Two more steep acclivities separated by a narrow valley had to be conquered, before we found ourselves at the summit of the pass. Hence we looked down upon a winding road through a narrow *ghat.* Beyond it was descried an extensive plain, not unlike that of Pisheen. It was filled with mist, although the sharp wind of the mountain kept all serene around us; but upon its surface we could trace villages, and considerable spots of cultivation. We could also see even with the unassisted eye that this level was intersected by another range of lower hills, and through intervals between portions of them, we beheld a long continuation of the plain, and in the extreme distance discovered with the telescope two little eminences, which some of the inhabitants, from whom information on other points had been obtained, boldly affirmed to be immediately in front of Candahar. They were certainly not fewer than forty miles distant from us. Our party thought, and spoke of the sensations of Shah Shooja, when he should again reach this point, and obtain once more from it a view of the vicinage of his western capital. Contemplating the Kozuk as a military obstacle, we felt that in the ascent of a mile and

a half from the sappers' camp there would be found a fearful trial of strength and energy, when it should become necessary to draw up our two field batteries and our siege train. It is clear that this can only be done by the application of manual power to the drag-ropes, and the same means must be used to ease the cannon down into the edge of the plains below.

A detachment of Bombay light cavalry met the commander-in-chief on his return to camp, and escorted him back to it. We had traversed about half the distance between the sappers' tents and our own, when a piercing cry for help was heard from some *surwans* whose camels were browsing on the hills and in the valleys on the eastern side of the *durru*. The escort instantly gave chase, led by some of the youngest and most active of the staff, and over the heights, which a moment before were mute and still, were seen dashing in headlong haste full fifty steeds and riders. Onward they galloped over every inequality of ground: but no plunderers were taken or seen, and when at last the party reined up in a valley, and on the sides of an almost precipitous ascent, a *surwan* confessed that one thief only had come down upon his party, and caused the outcry. Some others talked loudly of having counted a body of thirty

brigands; but the former was evidently the true story. Another solitary robber at midnight was not so fortunate. He was shot by a sentry of the pickets of the 13th, whilst creeping down towards the camp, from the hills which formed its *appui*.

Head-quarters halted on their ground in the gorge of the Kozuk, on the 13th, orders having been sent to the engineers, whose camp is guarded by the 16th native infantry, to establish themselves in the valley towards Candahar in the course of the day. The cavalry brigade joined us here this morning. One day's repose is acceptable, before looking in the face the labours of the Kozuk. The 4th brigade and seige train left Kwettah on the 9th, and may be at the difficult passage of the Lora this day. The villagers of Pesheen are bringing in considerable supplies of wheat, which has fallen in price to-day from two to four seers (four to eight pounds) the rupee. They also offer for sale ponies and camels, green rhubarb, and lucerne grass, fowls, and *doomba* sheep. These last having at Kwettah been liberally purchased by officers for their starving retainers, rose there in value from one to six rupees per head. Necessity has compelled thousands of Hindoos in our camps to overcome their distaste for animal

food, and to support life upon the mutton of the country, which, fed chiefly upon mountain grass, is fat and well-flavoured, as well as abundant.

The camp of the sappers was fixed, on the 13th, four miles beyond the northward base of the Kozuk, at a hamlet called Chummun, where the engineer officers had found water, and a good position. On the 14th, Brigadier Sale's brigade moved onwards at three A. M., and the cavalry was directed to follow it at one P. M., with the view of both effecting the passage within twenty-four hours. The commander-in-chief set out in person at five A. M., and about eight he and his staff pushed their horses up the last steeps amidst the crush of loaded animals, and reached the point which two days before had bounded the reconnoissance. Here a small tent, called a *bee-choba*, was pitched for his Excellency; and hence he superintended and watched the progress of the arduous work which remained to be completed. When the 13th light infantry had halted on the summit, they piled their arms, stript off their coats, and, in the form of strong fatigue parties, commenced the work of dragging up the guns. Their toils, and those of the native soldiers of the brigade, who vied with the Europeans in activity and

zeal, were prolonged under a hot sun until between three and four P. M. But at the very commencement of their efforts, Sir John Keane saw that the passage of the cavalry in the same day was impracticable, and orders were sent to halt them until the 15th.

On the southern slopes and summits of the mountain a keen breeze was felt, but in the descent into the valley the heat was excessive. Not only did each soldier, as he laboured, sensibly perceive that every step which he took brought him down into a warmer region; but the refraction of the solar rays from the rocks, which peeped out on every side, bare and glittering from beneath their covering of grass and herbs, rendered the glare overpowering. Here indeed we for the first time during our prolonged progresses, saw a mountain-side clothed with trees. But they were in size commonly dwarfish, and afforded little protection from the sun. This was a day to be remembered as truly harassing. Let it be borne in mind that the distance from camp to camp was full twelve miles. These the troops had to march, and though six of these were up a gentle acclivity, two were up and two down again most abrupt and precipitous steeps, and two more down a milder descent. Up and down these laborious

acclivities and declivities a battery of six nine pounders with its carriages had to be dragged by dint of manual labour, where neither horses nor camels could for a moment have kept their footing if harnessed to their accustomed draught. This was no child's play; but a severe trial of strength, health, and perseverance. This artillery, however, with its ponderous concomitants, ordinary and spare, was brought, without a single accident down into the valley. But the baggage of head-quarters, and of the brigade, and all the stores of the commissariat had yet to be got over the mountain, along a road which, for the space of four miles, admitted only one animal at a time. Every exertion was used to preserve order, but some loaded camels were precipitated over the rocks in their own efforts, or those of their drivers, to break the single line, and many fell out wearied. It became necessary, in order to prevent the advance of those which came after from being checked, to push these poor beasts with their loads into the lateral ravines.

The troops of the column had cleared the Kozuk by four P. M.: and whilst they remained in the pass nothing had to be encountered but the natural obstacles of the place, but baggage animals and their drivers and followers continued to file over the mountain range after dusk,

throughout the night, and after the next morning's dawn, and when the main body of the troops had descended into the plains, the Uchikzyes, creeping forth from dens and hollows, made their appearance on the heights, armed with matchlocks and swords, fired upon the rear-guard, attacked and stript helpless followers, and captured and carried off loaded camels or plundered them of their loads. A great portion of the brigade passed the night without tents, but the camps were all regularly formed, and well guarded, on the slopes four miles below the crest of the mountain. It happened that the gentler declivities of Chummun formed secure positions. The thermometer stood here at nightfall at 60°, so that bivouacking was not so rigorous as it would have been in the southern gorge, or on the summit of the mountain pass. The carols of numerous larks amongst the camel-thorn and aromatic herbs were heard before the reveille of our bugles the next morning. Even at that coolest time the quicksilver was at 74°.

The thermometer rose to 86° in the shade before 10 A.M. on the 15th. Not more than half of the labour of the 1st brigade was complete, for their baggage yet crowded the mountain. Nevertheless, the cavalry moved from their ground at the same hour at which the

infantry had preceded them on the 14th. They got over the pass with their artillery in the course of a day, halted at night at the mountain's foot, and marched on the next morning in search of more abundant water and better forage, twelve miles over the plains, encamping at Dundi Goolaee in pastures irrigated by a small mountain rill. The fracture of the wheel of a single howitzer was the only untoward incident which they had to deplore during the passage of the range. A *shootur suwar* in the employment of the envoy and minister, was shot by the Uchikzyes in the defile on the 13th.

On the 16th the camp of the Shah was fixed near Chummun, and it was expected that the siege train would reach the southern gorge of the Kozuk on the 17th, escorted by the 4th brigade, when on its troops, and those of the 1st, which will be marched back from their position for that purpose, will devolve the arduous task of forcing the ponderous guns and mortars up and down the steeps of Khoju Amran. On the northern slopes of the range, and for several miles in advance, there are neither villages nor peasantry to be seen. No supplies of grain, camels, or ponies can here be obtained as in the valley of Pesheen ; and,

whilst the followers of the army are enduring frightful privations, our officers have lost tents, baggage, and carriage animals in the Kozuk pass to a greater amount than on any one day in the *durru* of Bolan.

The Uchikzyes have played their part with as much dexterity and boldness as the Jokranee Belooches in Cutch Gundava, or the Kakurs, Marees or Muzarees on the confines of the *dusht*, Shawl, or Koocklak. These strange marauders have already been seen in their valleys decked out in clothes made up of the showy chintzes which line our Bengal tents. It is not any party or patriotic principle which induces these people to attack us. They plunder simply that they may live. It is clear, therefore, that the only measure by which their hostility could be effectually neutralized would be the plan that has been adopted with so much success in various parts of Hindoostan, of taking the hereditary freebooters of predatory districts into the pay of government, and organizing them in corps for the protection of the country which they and their ancestors have been wont to desolate. Our detention in the unproductive and deserted country at the foot of the Khoju Amran increases of course our difficulties as to subsistence; but we are supported by hope, for

when once our force is concentrated on the plains, and the siege train shall have been parked upon in our rear, we calculate on being enabled to advance to Candahar in seven marches, and on compelling its chiefs either to seek safety in flight, or to acknowledge their lawful sovereign, and accept the terms which the government is yet disposed to keep open to them.

It has been known several days that the party of horsemen which Brigadier Arnold encountered in the Kozuk, was headed by Meer Ufzul Khan, a relative of the Barukzye triumvirate of Candahar. He had been despatched by them to reconnoitre and defend the passage: but the Affghan leader, after scanning from a lofty height our several brigades in progress through the valley of Pesheen, and meeting the outposts of our engineers in the defile, returned in dismay, and reported to his government, as has been proved by intercepted letters, and the statements of prisoners, that the *Feringees* had already mastered the Khoju Amran, and that nothing could be done to arrest their progress.

Mine is the narrative of a soldier not of a naturalist; but as I have occasionally spoken of shrubs, flowers, and birds, as they have attracted attention in our marches, so I ought not

to forget to notice the large black *scaribæi* which are seen in numbers amongst the aromatic herbs of the *dusht*, and of all the valleys which intervene between it and the slopes of Khoju Amran. Their size, strength, and dexterity in boring little caverns in the earth for dwelling-places, and conveying to them their stores, has excited the admiration of those who can do nothing towards assigning them a place in a system.

Last night, his majesty Shah Shooja was sufficiently indisposed to render it necessary to bleed him; but a little after six this morning, he was seen again in his gilded litter in the midst of his troops on his route to the rivulet on the plains. The envoy, and minister, and one of his assistants, accompanied the column of the contingent which had been defiling down the slopes since daylight; and an hour had not elapsed when an Affghan, mounted on a *yaboo* (pony), arrived in haste bearing a note from Major Leech to Mr. Macnaghten. As he had already passed on, and the bearer of the missive asserted that he had intelligence of the utmost importance to communicate, he was summoned to the presence of the commander-in-chief. This scout declared roundly that the Candahar chiefs had collected seven thousand men for the defence of their city. He intimated, that Kohun Dil Khan

remained at the head of these forces, in reserve near his capital, whilst the sirdars, Meer Ufzul Khan and Hajee Khan Kakur had been detached on a secret expedition at the head of two thousand men. He added, that no one knew the route which these chieftains had taken; but that it was believed that the object of their forced march was a *chupawul*, or attack by surprise on some of our brigades. Further, the messenger related, that Moohummud Hajee Khan, the sirdar of Gurmseer, was moving towards the capital with fourteen thousand men under his banners.

Much stress was laid in the course of this man's narrative on the rapidity of the incursions of the Affghan horse, and according to him, we might expect at any moment the forces of Meer Ufzul Khan, or Hajee Khan Kakur on either flank, or in the rear of any of our camps. At the moment that these statements were made, our 1st brigade had not above one hundred men in its lines with its battery, the rest being employed four miles off in the defile in dragging up the guns of the siege train. The Shah's force was in march considerably in advance, and the cavalry with their guns, and the 16th native infantry were at Dundi Goolaee. Round our head-quarters there were only the wing of the

19th Bombay native infantry, and the two squadrons of the light cavalry of the same presidency. This was not, therefore, exactly the state of things in which attack would be welcome; but there was no intention of suspending, on account of these reports, the important labour of passing over the siege train by withdrawing the troops so employed, or of concentrating the force by causing the cavalry to retire from a spot where they had found water and forage.

But behold a specimen of the dependence to be placed on the statements of Asiatics! Towards evening, two merchants reached our camp; in the possession of one of them was a paper addressed to Major Leech, bearing the signature of Lieutenant Pottinger, our envoy at Herat. These men affirmed that they had left that city twelve days before, when British influence had again become predominant. They told us that our representative was now Shah Kamran's right hand: and the Wuzeer wholly at his mercy. With respect to the defence of Candahar, they assured us that Kohun Dil Khan had not been able to collect at the utmost above three thousand horse; and that the sirdar of Gurmseer, whose fief they had lately skirted, was not master of a hundred cavalry. They professed also wholly to disbelieve the tale of the purposed

chupao or *chupawul* of Meer Ufzel Khan and Hajee Khan Kakur. The substance of these two reports has been given at large, both with a view of showing the nature of the opinions entertained in this country at this period, and of exhibiting a specimen of the contradictory stories with which a general's head-quarters are besieged when he makes war in Asia.

As undeniable and painful fact, we know that the heat of the weather, and the labours of the Kozuk pass have seriously increased the number of our sick, especially in the ranks of our European soldiery; that our followers yet suffer with an exemplary patience the most painful privations, owing to the scarcity of grain, and that from the same cause both horses and carriage cattle continue to decline in strength. The united labours of both infantry brigades have to day barely sufficed to drag two mortars and four battering guns across the mountain. These exertions therefore, must be renewed to-morrow, consequently our head-quarters can hardly be fixed under the walls of Candahar before the 27th instant, when the force will not have more than six days grain in reserve.

General Willshire will reach Kwettah on the 18th. From one gorge to the other of the Bolan, he has been systematically and actively

opposed by the Belochee tribes. His troops are not at present provisioned for more than thirteen days. The Shah, having found no eligible ground in our immediate front, has joined the cavalry at Dondi Golaee. At nine at night our head-quarters received an order to accompany the commander-in-chief to the above-named point, and thither it is to be hoped the 1st and 4th brigades of infantry and the siege train will soon follow us. But the best-informed Affghans give us little hope of finding much grain or cattle until we have advanced three marches further beyond Melamanda; so that our followers, horses, and beasts of burthen must draw yet more largely on their stock of patient endurance. Meanwhile the Uchikzyes have rivalled, if not surpassed their brother brigands of Cutch Gundava and the Brahoick range, the Dusht, the Durru of Ana, and the pass of Koochlak. They have not only swept off every article of property which was temporarily abandoned, owing to the failure of camels in the ascent of the defile, but have skirmished audaciously with our irregular horse; and distantly, more than once, with parties of Europeans, and have butchered and mutilated in the most barbarous manner our followers, even at the spring-heads within a few hundred yards of our head-quarters.

As the *suwarrees* of the commander-in-chief and the general of the 1st division descended on the morning of the 18th of April to the foot of the undulating slopes beyond Chummum, they felt the air to be as pleasantly cool as that of the same month in England. At the distance of fourteen miles and a half they came upon the camps which had been established on successive days, as has already been related. On the right was the pavilion of Shah Shooja distinguished by its golden knobs and crimson *kunats*, and surrounded by his force of all arms. Further to the left was our cavalry brigade. Our own tents were destined to prolong this line. Long before we reached Dundi Goolaee, the sun had acquired a power which reminded us that we had left the mountain region, and were protracting to a late season our marches upon plains which did not afford the shade of a single tree. We had to wait two hours for our tents, and under the roof of mine, an excellent single-poled one, fourteen feet square with the inner *kunuts*, the thermometer rose by three P. M. to 95°. In all tents and others of a smaller pattern, the quicksilver was said to have mounted to 100°. I observed it as I have related; and again at daylight the next morning, saw it as low as 58° a difference of thirty-seven degrees within

twenty four hours. This alternation of burning days and cool nights in Affghanistan, is remarked by Mr. Elphinstone, and certainly demanded, in order to preserve health, no ordinary caution in changing the texture of our clothing to suit the vicissitudes of the temperature.

Intelligence has been received from lower Sinde, which further demonstrates the atrocious character of the policy of the Khan of Kelat. A party of Sindian Belooches had made an attack on part of the force near Curachee, and barbarously murdered some of the followers of that reserve. Brigadier Valiant caused them to be promptly pursued, and on the person of their leader were found letters from our ally of Kelat to these cognate freebooters, urging them to do every practicable mischief to the British, to capture their means of transport, cut off their convoys, and butcher their stragglers. These sanguinary papers have been forwarded to the supreme government, and assuredly the work of complete retribution will not be long delayed. The 1st brigade reached Dundi Goolaee on the 19th April. On the 18th the whole of the guns and carriages of the siege train had been brought across the pass, together with about one-fourth of a line of upwards of two hundred

carts of the parc laden with shot and shell. When our 4th brigade and the battering guns are ready to move after us, we hope to be enabled to march up to the walls of Candahar, or until we come in contact with its defenders. The accounts most to be relied on indicate that they do not exceed two thousand horse, who are constantly employed in martial exercises near the city, and vaunt loudly of the prowess which they will display to the terror and discomfiture of the Feringees. The dearth of grain still causes many cheeks to lank, and saddens many hearts in our camps.

Certain information has been received of Ruheem Dil Khan and Miher Dil Khan being within twelve miles of our outposts at the head of a force estimated at two thousand cavalry. They captured this morning two elephants belonging to the Shah; and Lieutenant Edward Connolly, assistant to the envoy, whilst riding in advance with a body of spearmen, fell in with one of the parties of the chiefs, and was compelled to use his pistols in his own defence. The Affghans threaten, as usual, a night attack. This we should esteem a favour; but they have inflicted on us a severe injury by damming up in the hills the only little stream from which

the thousands of our encampments, men, horses, and camels, drank.

Shah Shooja, during the time which was occupied this evening in effecting a necessary change in the alignement of his camp, passed along the whole chain of our outposts with his accustomed retinue. He conversed for some time with great kindness of manner with Sir Willoughby Cotton. He spoke in the faint tone of a man still suffering from bodily indisposition, and seemed to be, mentally, ill at his ease. The presence of the Barukzyes in his front, in a hostile attitude, evidently chagrined him; and though he affected to describe them as a gang of marauders, only capable of executing a *chupao* against unprotected baggage animals, he evidently wished them at a safer distance. "When the heavy guns come up," he added, with a ludicrous seriousness of tone and emphasis, "all will be quickly settled; but, until then, we must be prudent and cautious. So *Mackloton Sahib** and all wise men tell me, and so I think myself."

Not a mouse stirred around our tents at night, and about six A.M. in the morning it was announced that an influential sirdar had ridden

* An Asiatic corruption of the name of the minister.

up to the outposts, and expressed his desire to tender his submission and services to the Shah. Soon after a gaily-dressed cavalier, too portly and well-fed, as it seemed, for treason, cantered in amongst our tents at the head of about one hundred horsemen. This was the since celebrated Hajee Khan Kakur. To the treachery of this man, who owes his power chiefly to his influence over the wild mountaineers of his own tribe, the transfer of the Peshawur territory into the hands of the Seikhs, is chiefly attributed. He was, at the period of that transaction, the professed friend of the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, who employed, but always distrusted him. Aware of the Ameer's increasing suspicions, he afterwards betook himself to Candahar, and gained the confidence of Ruheem Dil Khan, then intriguing against his brother, Kohun Dil, the regnant Barukzye. Ruheem Dil's counsels this turncoat also betrayed, and became the obsequious retainer aud adviser of the eldest of the triumvirate, against whom he had been plotting.

As the British advanced towards Candahar, he had taken the field at the head of his followers, with many professions of zeal and attachment to the existing government, and we now beheld him ride with unblushing front

within our pickets to plight an Affghan's faith to Shah Shooja. It is a matter of notoriety in India, that he had, whilst governor of Bamian under his first master, the Ameer of Cabool, shown kindness to Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, when pursuing his venturous course across the Hindoo Koosh in 1832; and to a bribe of ten thousand rupees (one thousand pounds), skilfully administered from Simla before our adroit tourist left that place for the scene of his negotiations in Upper Sinde, we, in a great measure, owe the honour of the Kakur's visit of this morning. The escort of this apostate were mounted on small but active horses. They were variously equipped, but generally wore steel helmets fastened under the chin, with chain plates of small rings of the same metal. Their arms were long spears, and the *toofung*, or Affghan musket, which is a light piece with a stock of peculiar formation, a flinted lock, and a long sling, by which it is carried over the horseman's shoulder. A party of the lancers had been sent to conduct the Kakur sirdar to the royal footstool. Unworthy as this man is of respect and confidence, it is not improbable that his defection will at once turn the scale, that the Barukzye chiefs at Candahar will be wholly deserted, and the city fall into our hands

without a blow. Some other persons of less note, but, it is to be hoped, of more integrity, sent in their adhesion to the Shah in the course of the day.

Candahar may thus change hands without a conflict in fair field, or the hazards of a siege or escalade, but it is not to be won without labours and privations. The plain on which our camp is now pitched, is not, like the level of Siriab, watered by deep and well-supplied kahreezes, carrying coolness and the promise of fertility down their slopes. A small cut, through which we found water flowing from a spring-head in the mountains, has alone supplied us with the useful element since first we advanced to this point. This little channel the Candahar sirdars have caused to be dammed up near its source in the hills, and behold two bold brigades, and the levy of the Shah, reduced to the greatest straits. Horses already half starved for want of grain and good grass, were throughout the day panting in all the agonies of thirst, and in the evening a few drops of water could not be obtained even to mix the medicines of the sick in our hospitals, or to supply them with the refreshment and comfort of a few spoonfuls of tea. All ranks have been taught to understand to-day how little prized when plentiful, how

outrageously demanded when scarce, is that bounteous provision for the wants of God's creatures, water!

Weary of the delays which had kept us so long at Dundi Goolaee, we moved forward on the 21st into the plains, which we had surveyed from the summit of the Kozuk pass, recognising all the distinctive peaks of the scattered hills, which we had observed from that commanding height. We saw them now magnified, as we approached them, and casting a dark shade over the plains, which they overhung. Anxious looks were from time to time cast towards these green eminences, and their bases were carefully searched for any small streams which might supply the urgent wants of a thirsting force. When at last we found our halting-place near a mud village, walled and bastioned, but supplying neither grain nor any other means of subsistence, a well-ordered camp was traced out, the cavalry was posted in the centre, and the Shah's force and the 1st brigade on the right and left, either flank being refused. It was not very pleasant to discover that this day, too, we must depend for a supply of the indispensable element on the stream of a small and imperfect kahreez. Its water was brackish, and flowed scantily and sluggishly. Thousands of brass

lotas and leathern buckets were soon dipped into the little channel; and though proper regulations were promptly established, one half of the force had not been watered before the scarcity commenced. Soon diluted mud alone could be obtained; and whole regiments, under a burning sun, with parched lips, sighed for night to cool them, and then for morning, that they might move on to a happier spot.

The troops were buoyed up towards evening with fallacious hopes of the waters of a spring actually discovered in the hills, being brought down for their relief into the plains; but up to the hour of early march no stream had begun to flow into the dry bed of a *nulla*, on which many were gazing in hope. The sufferings of the soldiers, both European and native, were for some hours so great, as nearly to tempt some for a moment to forget the restraints of discipline; and never do its principles achieve a greater triumph than when troops are seen obedient and respectful, and trying to be cheerful, under this form of privation. At Killa Puttoollah, officers of the highest rank were brought to acknowledge the value of the simple element. This was no time for the luxurious ablutions which, under the sun of Central Asia, preserve health and restore strength; no time to

waste a single drop of the precious fluid on any bodily comfort, or for any purpose but preparing food or slaking a raging thirst; and thousands felt this day, that all the gifts of that God whose public praise and ordinances were forgotten on this Sabbath of unwilling penance, would have been worthless to man, if, in his anger, he had withheld the often-despised blessing of water. The kindness and consideration with which some officers of no low rank shared the little portion of the much-coveted fluid which they could obtain, with the privates around them, was creditable to their humanity, and ought to have won the confidence and affection of those whom they commanded.

A chilly north wind was blowing as the force began its march on the 22nd from the scene of its endurance on the plain near Killa Puttoolah. The breeze was eagerly welcomed as refreshing. and exhilarating after a day of sweltering heat, The columns pushed on over the level immediately before them. This was soon exchanged for a slight ascent, and then the lofty hills which for several miles had seemed to crowd in frowning groups around us, were closed into a pass, and as we pursued our way by a stony road overgrown with the camel-thorn and wild thyme, the sun arose, and in an hour the heat

made every soldier long to disencumber himself of his cloth coat, his choking stock, and tightly-clasping accoutrements. We heard, as we advanced, that our parties had not yet succeeded in bringing the water from the mountain into the plains of Dundi Goolaee, comfortless intelligence for the 4th brigade, and parc, which follow us.

Onward we pressed, and found after a march exceeding ten miles in a deep valley a considerable line of kahreez wells, some corn-fields, and above all, one stunted tree! But Brigadier Arnold, after hastily reconnoitring the vale, saw reason to dread the same deficiency of water which had to such an extent distressed his horses the day before. He obtained therefore the sanction of the commander-in-chief to his prolonging his march to the banks of the stream of the Dooree. Forward the brigade moved to finish a second march of ten miles, their horses dropping from drought and exhaustion as they toiled on, and leaving in the mountain passes melancholy traces of this day's sufferings and perseverance. When the cavalry had thus got over five miles, in the course of which British dragoons and native troopers were seen eagerly sharing with their chargers muddy and fœtid water, drawn from puddles at the side of the

road, the very sight of which would in Hindoostan have equally sickened all to whom it was offered, they struck into a by-road on their left, and winding their way by a narrow path through an opening in the undulating eminences, found themselves towards evening on the banks of a plentiful stream. The rush of unbridled indulgence of the troops and their horses into its waters, after all the privations of the morning, may fairly be described as uncontrollable. What moderation was to be expected from man or beast breaking forth from the restraints of a two days' unwilling abstinence? The march from Melamanda to the Dooree, cost the already weakened brigade not fewer than forty chargers.

Meanwhile, at the former place a more ample supply of water had been found for the infantry, than the first reconnoissances of the position had afforded cause to expect. Much of it had indeed to be brought from a considerable distance by soldiers wearied with their march; but it was now valued as a treasure cheaply purchased by prolonged exertion.

Some Moollas from Candahar were added to the number of the open adherents to the cause of Shah Shooja, on the 21st at Dundi Goolaee. These teachers of Islamism form a most influen-

tial class in Affghanistan, and their defection from the cause of the sirdars may draw many around the monarch. His reception of the Kakur chief, Hajee Khan, was very cordial, and at the conclusion of it, the Khan represented that there was in the Gautee hills, two marches in advance, a marauding tribe whose irregularities might perhaps cause some annoyance to the royal troops. He therefore craved leave to go forward for the purpose of using his influence over these lawless people, and pledged himself that if he was permitted to do so, not a finger should be raised against the force. Leave was granted, and he set out; and no sooner had he taken his departure, than some unpleasant doubts crossed the mind of the monarch as to the probability of his return. He did come back, however; and it is but justice to add that our camps were wholly free from molestation whilst in the mountainous vicinage to which the Kakur's guarantee extended.

To the inexpressible delight of every living creature in the army, our head-quarters were fixed on the 23rd of April on the banks of the Dooree, not far from the remarkable hill which bears the name of Leilee Mujnoon. For the romantic origin of this designation, I refer my readers to the interesting volumes of Lieutenant

Connolly. We had at present other objects in view than the nomenclature of peaks and vallies. Secret information was this morning received, which induced Shah Shooja, instead of halting near our corps, to make a forced march to Dih Hajee (pilgrim's village), ten miles beyond Leilee Mujnoon. The cavalry remained throughout the 23rd in their camp at Tukht-i-pool on the Dooree.

The march of the British was resumed on the 24th. The cavalry closed by a very early advance upon head-quarters, and the whole force proceeded to Dih Hajee. Not more than half of the route had been traversed, when a *shootur-suwar* met us in haste, bearing a missive from the envoy and minister. It announced that the Barukzye triumvirs had abandoned all thoughts of present opposition, left their capital, and fled, not towards Cabool, but in the direction of the Helmund, and Persia. It was added, that Shah Shooja, whose baggage had just got clear of Dih Hajee, as we entered it, was pressing on to take possession of Candahar, and we were warned not to suppose that an engagement had taken place, if we should hear that day, or the next, the thunder of ordnance in our front. In Dih Hajee, around which we forthwith encamped, we saw the largest town which we had

approached since leaving Kwettah. Its houses, which might give shelter to two thousand inhabitants, are all built of mud, or sun-burnt brick. Scarcely any of them exceed thirty feet in height; but the roofs of nearly all are shaped into that form of *goombuz* or dome, which surmounts Moosulman places of worship. Their seemingly frail material is baked by the sun of these latitudes into a hardened crust, which resists even heavy rain more successfully than might be expected.

Here, however, as in the villages of Koochlak and Peshing we found only empty houses. Not a living person of the whole population had awaited our arrival; the dwellings were deserted, and every moveable, as well as corn, and all articles of subsistence, had been carried off. The news of this morning must of course be in the nature of a disappointment to those who had looked forward to closing our labours and privations by some act of brilliant achievement under or against the walls of Candahar; but to the Affghan people the prospect of an immediate occupation of the western capital without the protracted calamities of a siege, or the horrors of a storm, is the promise of substantive good. To Shah Shooja it offers the

advantage of his being exhibited to his subjects in the light of a monarch returning to take possession of his throne unattended by the worst evils of war, and the enemy only of the usurping Barukzyes. This branch at least of that intrusive family, the people of Affghanistan have had little cause to love. They were as oppressive in prosperity, as they have been vacillating and cowardly, when real danger threatened them.

Quitting Dih Hajee at 4 A.M. on the 25th, head-quarters, accompanied by our yet imposing though shattered cavalry, and the hard-working infantry of the 1st brigade, advanced across the plains towards the capital. Our camp, during the cool and moonlight night, had been perfumed by the fragrance of a wild flower which grows in profusion on the wilds around. In scent and appearance it resembles *reseda odorata*, the *mignionette* of European gardens. The level beyond Dih Hajee is well watered by *kahreezes*, and, in spots, cultivated up to a considerable point of production. As we approach the western capital, therefore, our opinion of Affghanistan becomes a little more favourable. At the considerable village of Khoosab we had the satisfaction to see the inhabitants seated with

an air of tranquillity on the flat roofs around the domes of their houses. The spell of terror which drove them from us, seems to have been broken by the flight of the Barukzyes. Since we left Leilee Mujnoon, the plains have been no longer shut in by the lofty and gloomy hills which, there and at Melamanda, Killa Puttoollah, and Dundi Goolaee, form a restricted boundary to ill-cultivated flats, and add to the intensity of the heat by the refraction of the rays of the sun from their rugged and naked sides, but here we have room to breathe, the heights run off to a greater distance, and form gentler slopes, whilst the plains are rich with fields of barley, and wheat already in ear, and decorated with enclosures of fruit-trees in leaf. Our force was placed in position along a line of kahreezes, the cavalry on the left, the infantry on the right, and head-quarters in the centre. This artificial stream of Khooshab has long been considered as the first *munzilgah*, or resting-place for travellers proceeding from Candahar in the direction of Cutch Gundava. A little further on is a rising ground which commands a distant view of the city. From it at least we see a plain of brilliant green, in the midst of which are white buildings. The low ground is flanked and backed by hills of no great eleva-

tion, but of picturesque forms, and we are struck by the appearance of one very remarkable eminence, the summit of which appears to form a kind of table land, and inclines forward to the south over its base.

We had not long taken up our ground at Khooshab, when we heard the roar of artillery and rattle of musketry, and perceived the smoke of both ascending amidst the trees on the plains to the northward, peaceful intimations, though in a warlike form, that Shah Shooja had entered his western capital. Our accounts describe his reception as enthusiastic. They state that the people of all ranks issued from the city, and formed his escort into it, leaving no employment for his troops, but the demonstrations of joy and triumph which we had witnessed in the distance from Khooshab. Whatever might be the sincerity of the popular plaudits on the entrance of the restored monarch, there seems little reason to doubt the assurances which meet us on every side, respecting the low estimation in which his immediate predecessors were held. They appear to have governed like men who daily apprehended a fall, aiming only at present advantages, and swayed by mean personal motives in all their measures. Whilst they retained their power, they were neither

beloved nor respected, and have fallen without pity or sympathy.

It has been seen how great a treasure our cavalry found in the waters of the Dooree. We have crossed within the two last days the beds of the larger rivers of the Urghesan, and a branch of the Turnuk, but both were dry. We met with the same disappointment in approaching the channel of the Kuduny, which is a few miles to the southward of Killa Puttoollah.

On the 26th, head-quarters alone moved on to the capital. Our troops halted that day under the command of Sir Willoughby Cotton in their position at Khooshab. The whole pushed forward at 3 P.M. on the 27th, by the light of the moon. The columns were deprived of that bland illumination about the time that they found themselves crowded into the narrow lanes of a considerable village. Through these they defiled slowly, and it was found necessary to send the artillery by another route round the outskirts of the hamlet.

Candahar is only nine miles from Khooshab; but it was broad daylight when, after struggling through another extensive village, we saw before us, seated in an open plain of corn-fields and meadows, intersected by water-courses, the object of so many desires and expectations, in a

mass of buildings, worthy of the title of city, surrounded by a quadrangular wall of curtains and bastions, thirty-three feet in height. Behold then at length the western capital of Affghanistan prepared to permit its bulwarks to be environed without resistance by the camps of a British army!

OBSERVATIONS.

1°. The main feature in our marches from Kwettah to Candahar, was the same which distinguished our earlier progresses, the lack of "foemen worthy of our steel." We manœuvred up to the Kozuk pass without any vestige of an army in our front, and when in the plains beyond Khoju Amran the Candahar sirdars had collected a body of horse to oppose us, they vanished like mist before the morning sun, on the first symptom of treachery in their camp. It must be confessed, that hitherto our task has been *escorting*, not campaigning, but this pacific duty has been performed under arduous circumstances, and the exposure to the vicissitudes of climate, the fatigue, and deficiency of food and water, which tried the strength and resolution of our troops between Kwettah and Candahar, as well as the active hostility of the predatory tribes, ought never to be despised as

military difficulties. How gladly would our army have exchanged them for the most determined opposition of the Affghans in the field? How often did our officers long for a battle to raise the sinking spirits of the soldier, and make him feel that he was not labouring and suffering in vain?

2°. Is it not to be regretted that it was not satisfactorily ascertained by a complete reconnoissance of all the passes of Khoju Amran, whether it was not possible to have surmounted the range by a defile far less arduous than the Kozuk? The inhabitants constantly affirmed that the route of Sung-i-Soofued intersected the mountains in the interval between two detached portions of the barrier, and that the acclivity was every where easy. Would it have been time or labour lost to have tested the veracity of these assertions? I presume to think not: for it should be remembered, that the protracted labours of the Kozuk were the grave of the health of a large proportion of our troops.

3°. It might seem a hazardous enterprise to advance from Kwettah to Candahar with only a month's *half*-rations on our camels; but the event fully proved the justness of our calculations. We collected a little grain in the valley of Pesheen; and if the Barukzyes had shut

themselves up in the city, barricaded its streets, manned its walls, and mounted the ordnance of their *Champ-de-Mars* on its ramparts, we might have formed its investment on the 26th, and escaladed, or blown open its gate on the 27th or 28th. But if these hardy attempts had failed, our siege train would have come up on the 30th, and we could have contrived to subsist our troops until the breaches were practicable, when we might surely have ventured to anticipate a successful assault.

4°. I am not disposed to quarrel with the bargain, which brought the Kakur chief into our camp. His information, astuteness, and influence might be worth a thousand pounds, though his loyalty would have been extravagantly dear at as many *cowries*. His defection at Dundi Goolaee opened the gates of Candahar to us more speedily even than our cannon could have done it. It not only, in truth, diminished the confidence of the Barukzyes in their remaining partisans, but it furnished them with that solution of difficulties, so welcome to the irresolute, an excuse for despair and flight. The Affghans of their faction afterwards pleaded, in extenuation of their shameful abandonment of their post, that their strength was gone, in Asiatic phrase, that their loins (*kumur*) were

weakened, from the moment Hajee Khan set the example of treason to their forces. No one can blame the political department for labouring in their own peculiar vocation, and devising to unlock the portals of Affghan cities with a silver key, or striving to lead the adherents of usurpers back to the path of their duty to their legitimate sovereign by practising on their avarice; and if, as is believed, the tact of Sir Alexander Burnes had selected the ex-governor of Bamian as a fitting instrument, this is only another proof of his sagacity. But I trust I may be pardoned some lingering regrets that any thing occurred to preclude the chance of a meeting in the plains near Dundi Goolaee between the Affghan horse and our cavalry. Broken down though the latter were at the time by fatigue and want of provender, I will not doubt that victory would have been on their side; and the subsequent events at Ghuznee clearly proved that one hour of such success outweighs the results of months of intrigue and negotiation; and that the clash of steel for a few short moments will ever gain for the British, in the diffusion through Asia of an opinion of their strength, a greater advantage than all the gold in their coffers can purchase. It is to be wished that they should in no future war forget the rude

poet's description of the policy of the statesmen and warriors of republican Rome, and that we too may ever be seen in our Asiatic enterprises, "Non cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes."*

* Ennius as quoted by Cicero.

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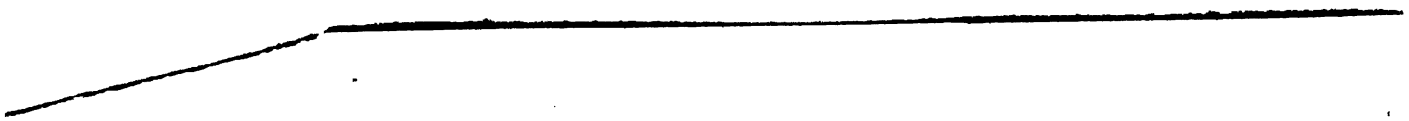

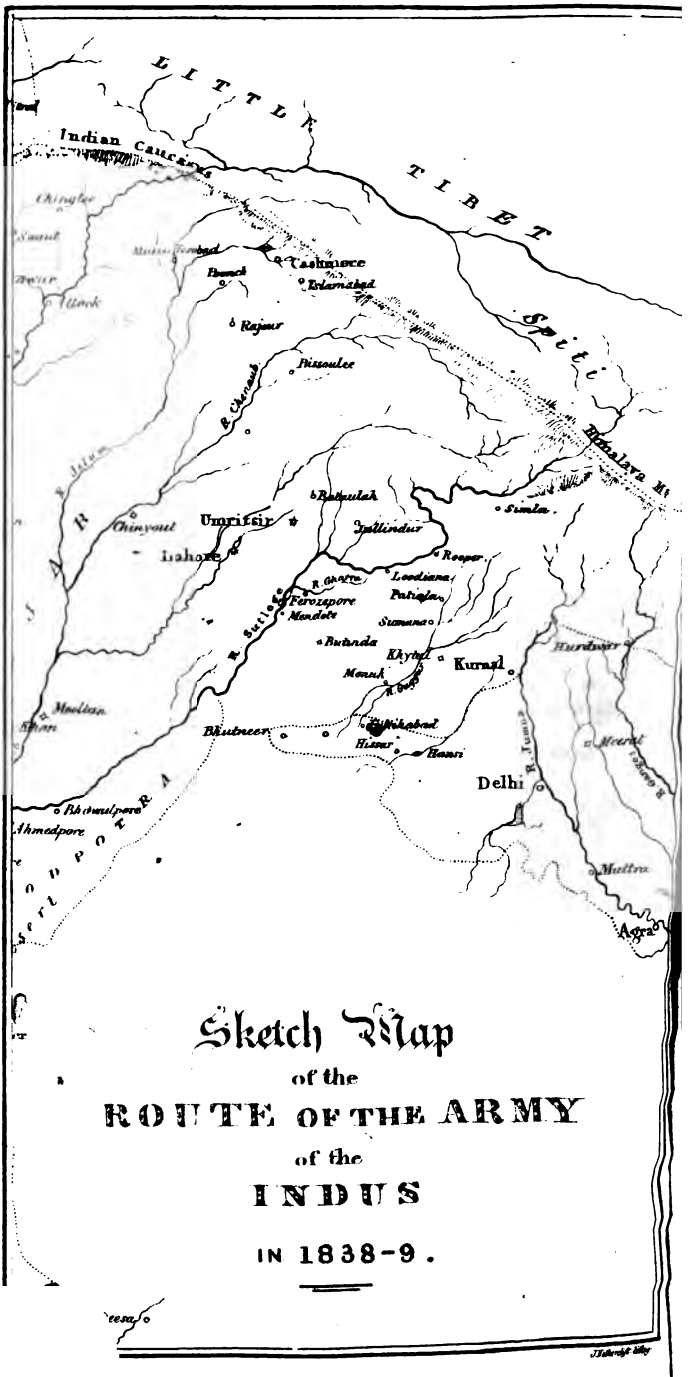
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